REAUTHORIZATION OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT Title II (College Libraries); Title VI (International Education); Title VIII (Cooperative Education); Title X (F.I.P.S.E.); Title XI (Urban Grant Universities)

Volume 8

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-NINTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

HEARINGS HELD IN WASHINGTON, DC, SEPTEMBER 6 AND 10, 1985

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REAUTHORIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION ACT

Title II (College Libraries); Title VI (International Education); Title VIII (Cooperative Education); Title X (F.I.P.S.E.); Title XI (Urban Grant Universities)

Volume 8

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1985

House of Representatives,
Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education,
Committee on Education and Labor,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 9:40 a.m., in room 2261, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. William D. Ford (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Members present: Representatives Ford, Coleman, Penny, Owens, Bruce, and Gunderson.

Staff present: Birdie Kyle, legislative associate; Kristin Gilbert, legislative associate and clerk; Rose DiNapoli, Republican legislative associate.

Mr. Ford. I am pleased to call to order this hearing of the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education. We are continuing our hearings on the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act.

This is our 18th hearing in Washington on specific facets of the Higher Education Act. We have also thus far had 10 field hearings. We have spent more than 90 hours in these combined hearings. We have four more Washington hearings and two field hearings scheduled.

Today's hearing will include testimony on two titles of the Higher Education Act: Title II, college library programs, and title VI, international education. Neither of these programs have fared well under the administration's budget proposals and, if not for strong bipartisan support for them within the Congress, both would have been zeroed out of the budget more than 4 years ago.

With respect to title II, the college library programs, while all of us can cite many accomplishments under the act over the years, the Congress still seeks mutually acceptable criteria for providing library assistance based on need, particularly under part A. Under part B, we need to answer the question: Is there a continuing need to provide traineeships and fellowships to train professional and paraprofessional librarians, or could this money be reprogrammed into other library related programs? And finally, we will consider a new part D addressing college library needs in the age of information and high technology.

Witnesses here today for title VI, international education programs, will discuss their recommendations for improving and strengthening foreign language and area studies as well as the business and international education programs that promote linkages between institutions of higher education and the American business community engaged in international economic activity, with the goal of improviing the competitive position of these firms.

We will also hear testimony on Congressman Matsui's proposal to require the public disclosure of gifts from foreign sources to American higher education institutions in excess of $100,000 per year. Congressman Matsui will be here later this morning to amplify on his proposal.

The first panel is Dr. Robert O'Neil, president of the University of Virginia; Mr. Charles Churchwell, dean of library services, Washington University; Nancy C. Kranich, director, Public and Administrative Services, New York University Libraries, accompanied by Mr. Harold B. Shill, head librarian, West Virginia University; and Nancy Hubers, vice chair, Board of Trustees, Catonsville Community College, accompanied by Phillip C. English, director, Teleproductions and Media Services.

Mr. Coleman.

Mr. **Coleman**. I would like to welcome all of the witnesses on the first panel and extend a special welcome to Dr. Charles Churchwell, who is the dean of library services at my alma mater, Washington University in St. Louis. He came to Washington University in 1978 after serving in a variety of administrative as well as teaching capacities at Brown University, Miami University and the University of Houston, the University of Illinois and the New York Public Library.

I apologize to all of the witnesses on the first panel, I must leave at 10 o'clock for a meeting with the chairman of the Agriculture Committee and then I will return. If I am not present for your testimony I will review it in written form. Thank you for your time and effort on the subcommittee's behalf.

Mr. **Ford**. Thank you.

We want to get over there to take care of the bankruptcy in the Farm Credit Corporation. We haven't gotten that much money for a bailout.

Dr. O'Neil, I am informed, has a schedule problem this morning so we will ask you to testify first, Doctor, then take questions before we go on with the panel, and I should say at the outset that, without objection, the prepared remarks of each of the people on the panel will be inserted in the record immediately preceding your comments today.

Dr. O'Neil.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT O'NEIL, PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Mr. **O'Neil**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

What I would like to offer this morning is a brief summary of a somewhat longer statement which has been filed. Since I am just this morning completing my first week as president of the University of Virginia, you can appreciate that not all of my background on this subject comes from that institution. In other roles, however, I have come over the years particularly to appreciate the role that this subcommittee has played in understanding and support for a variety of needs of higher education, although it is to the needs for research libraries that I welcome the chance to speak this morning.

I am here on behalf of both the Association of American Universities and the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges. I am currently Chairman of the AAU Committee on Research Libraries, and also service on a Presidential Advisory Committee of OCLC and Preservation and Access Committee of the Council on Library Resources, as well as chairing the Financial Resource Develop Committee of the Center for Research Libraries. But among all roles, the ones in which I have the keenest appreciation of the needs of research libraries are those of university administrators and university professors, recognizing in those roles the absolutely central position in the life of a research university which its library plays and the importance of both the vitality of and access to those collections.

All of us in the higher education community are deeply appreciative of the support which Congress has given to research libraries through title 2(c) of the Higher Education Act and I think we would be nearly unanimous in urging its reauthorization. Maybe in fact I should not even say nearly. I doubt there would be any dissident on the importance of continuing title II(c) in its present form.

But we would also strongly support a request of which you will hear more from my colleague, Dr. Churchwell in a moment, to add the proposed title II(d), which would specifically aid the acquisition by libraries of new information technologies and would also very specifically encourage libraries to work more closely together. This collection among libraries isn't only desirable, it is absolutely essential. We have come increasingly in recent years to realize that even the largest library collection can't possibly provide all the resources necessary for scholarships. Complementary collection is essential and essential along with it are new technological links among libraries which such Federal support would make possible.

Ironically it is the largest and most complex collections that most urgently need such support for technological adaptation in a variety of ways about which you will hear more shortly.

So we would strongly endorse the joint ALA-ARL proposal for a new title or part to be added to the existing title II(c) which has been beneifical to the research library community.

Let me mention one other area of critical concern both to our organizations and to the scholars and libraries which comprise them. Recent surveys of several large libraries, including our own at Virginia, have shown that one-third or more of current collections are so brittle that they will crumble on repeated use or even at the touch. The cause of the problem is simply the use since the turn of the century of paper with high acid content.

The solutions are far more complex. Both the Library of Congress and the National Endowment for Humanities have recently embarked on major retrospective preservation programs and the Committee of the Council on Library Resources on which I serve has recently prepared an interim report on prospective preservation prospects. Obviously the role of technology in preservation of both sorts is critical and Federal support is vital as a number of title II(c) grants and LC-NEH programs have already recognized the question is occasionally raised whether title II(c) emphasis on preservation is still appropriate. Though it has been a relatively minor part of the title II(c) program, I think we would recognize the continuing value of some title II(c) preservation related activities.

There is much more that I could, and if time allowed, would like to say, but in deference to others and the subcommittee's own schedule, let me conclude here. I would be happy to answer any questions now or following the testimony of my colleagues. My time commitment isn't that tight, so I can certainly await any questions until the rest of the panel has finished, or if there are questions now, I would be happy to address them now.

[The prepared statement of Robert M. O'Neil follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ROBERT M. O'NEIL, PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, ON BEHALF OF THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, my name is Robert M. O'Neil, President (as of September 1) of the University of Virginia. Prior to coming to Virginia, I served for five years as President of the University of Wisconsin System. As one who has spent his entire career in higher education, I am keenly aware of and deeply grateful for the role this committee has played in the support of higher education. Changes have occurred in the committee since the Higher Education Act was last reauthorized in 1980; but you are fortunate to have the same Chairman, and the thorough and methodical reauthorization process now underway testifies to your commitment to and understanding of higher education.

I am grateful for this opportunity to appear before you to testify about research libraries behalf of the Association of American Universities and the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges. I have been involved with issues affecting research libraries for a number of years in several different roles. I am Chairman of the AAU Committee on Research Libraries, and a member of the Preservation and Access Committee of the Council on Library Resources, and of the Higher Education Advisory Panel of OCLC, Inc. I have served on the Board of Directors of the Center for Research Libraries, and currently chair the Center's Financial Resources Development Committee.

Perhaps my most vital link to research libraries, however, is as the president of a major research university. In this capacity, I share with my fellow university chief executive officers the recognition of the central role of the library to the operation of a research university: the business of universities is the discovery, organization, and dissemination of knowledge, and the library is the facility in which accumulated and accumulating knowledge is catalogued, stored, retrieved, and shared. In most disciplines, library collections are the primary scholarly tool for both students and scholars.

Many people, while they understand the importance of libraries as essential repositories of information, nonetheless view them as rather static places, easily and quietly accommodating vast stacks of books. A university president is quickly disabused of any such notion by contemplating the library budget. Operating expenditures for the University of Virginia library, which houses over two and one-half million volumes, totaled more than $9.3 million in 1984. Such costs have risen in recent years far faster than the general rates of inflation.

Much more than costs are changing in research libraries. Some of the changes now underway are promising, some very threatening. I would like to share with the Committee some of the challenges that are confronting research libraries and suggest how coordinated action by universities, government, and private foundations can transform the problems of research libraries into revolutionary advances in information management. The achievable product of these advances--if they are incorporated in a careful and coordinated manner into our existing network of research libraries--is a single national "library" whose component collections are those of individual libraries, interconnected with each other and accessible to all the nation's scholars. Let me suggest what I believe to be the appropriate and important role of Title II in this information revolution.

The most serious crisis confronting research libraries today--and it is truly a crisis for the nation, not just a set of academic institutions--is the deterioration of existing printed material. The cause is the disintegration of acid-based paper; the consequence is that a third or more of the books in our nation's libraries are crumbling. It is not an exaggeration to say that our intellectual heritage is at risk.

At the same time that we must act to preserve existing information, we must take effective steps to incorporate new material into the system and assure its preservation. The sheer volume of information--in the form of books, monographs, journals and other periodicals, as well as non-printed information--is expanding at a seemingly exponential rate. The "mix" as well as the volume of information is changing. Some science libraries, for example, now spend up to 90% of their acquisition budgets on periodicals; often older journals must be dropped in order to accommodate new ones within the constraints of already overextended budgets. The costs of acquiring foreign-produced journals essential for American scholarship has increased greatly. (I should add at this point that we concur with the American Library Association and the Association of Research Libraries on the need for additional funding for the acquisition of journals produced in foreign countries.)

With the rapid growth in the volume--and cost per unit--of new information that must be catalogued and stored, and the urgent need to preserve existing information, it is becoming clear that individual libraries can no longer aspire to be self-contained, complete, and comprehensive collections. In preservation, collection development, and bibliographic control, individual libraries must cooperate with each other and coordinate their efforts so that, while no university will house all requisite material, all its scholars will have access to the collective resources of the nation's research libraries.

This goal will require coordinated decisions among groups of research libraries. University librarians, scholars, and administrators will have to designate to individual libraries primary responsibility for preserving existing material in specified areas; similar designations of responsibility will have to be made for future collections development.

Mutually accepted standards of bibliographic control are especially important. Bibliographic records of books and other material must be machine-readable and must contain sufficient information to describe that material adequately to permit its identification by an individual scholar. Such records are difficult and costly to develop, but they will become increasingly important as the collection at an individual library becomes the collection for a growing number of scholars on an expanding number of campuses.

What makes this level of resource sharing necessary is the impossible cost of anything less; what makes such sharing possible is the enormous potential of computer-based advances in the technology of information storage, access, and dissemination. The development of on-line bibliographic databases permits immediate information on the collective holdings of all member libraries. As those holdings are transferred to machine-readable storage and on-line retrieval systems developed, they become readily accessible to anyone having access to the system. New storage mechanisms such as videodisc and optical digital disc technologies hold great promise for the long-term preservation of new materials.

The dramatic possibilities offered by these rapidly developing information technologies must be tempered by two considerations. First, research libraries exist for use by scholars and students; their access to information must not be compromised in the development of new information management systems. Second, although over the long-term, substantial savings should be realized by increased sharing, easier access, and much more cost-effective storage, the initial capital costs to implement such technologies will be quite high.

Where does the Federal Government fit in all this? What is the national interest? What is the appropriate Federal role? Research libraries are an essential component to all the research and scholarship conducted in this country. The education of the students in our universities--those who will go on to be the next generation of teachers, scientists, and scholars, and those who will go on to careers in government, industry, medicine, law, and other professions--is dependent on research libraries. Clearly, the capacity of our libraries to manage information effectively is a vital national interest.

The Federal Government can most effectively assist research libraries by participating through several Federal agencies in a coordinated strategy involving universities, government, private foundations, and corporations. Several efforts are now underway. The Library of Congress has assumed a major role in "prospective preservation"--in the preservation of newly created information. The Council on Library Resources, with funding from private foundations, has established a Committee on Preservation and Access, of which I am a member, to address the problem of "retrospective preservation"--the preservation of existing information. The National Endowment for the Humanities has this year established an Office of Preservation, and its staff is working in close cooperation with the CLR committee.

The Department of Education, through Title II-Part C, has provided valuable assistance to research libraries in bibliographic control, collections development, and preservation. The support provided by the Department, though modest in scope, has been exemplary in its effectiveness and flexibility. Title II-C funds are awarded based on judgments by academic experts of the merit of competing proposals. Individual libraries submit proposals that reflect their unique needs and opportunities. Because of the considerable strides that have been made in resource sharing, grants to individual libraries benefit the scholarly community broadly. Precisely this point was emphasized recently by a library director who declared that although his library had never received a grant under the II-C program, "our students and faculty have nevertheless benefitted enormously from the projects completed by other research libraries with HEA funds."

We concur with the recommendation of the Association of Research Libraries, which my colleague Charles Churchwell will present shortly, that Title II-C be reauthorized without major changes. This program has proven itself admirably in the eight years it has been in operation. Its only limitation has been a level of funding that falls short of meeting the documented need in the research library community.

We do see a need for a new provision to be added to Title II. Because of the importance of new information technologies, we strongly urge the adoption of a new program under Title II to assist libraries acquiring and developing such capacities. We believe such a program should serve two fundamental purposes: to help libraries with insufficient resources to upgrade their technological capacities, and to provide grants on a competitive basis to universities and other nonprofit organizations for research and development that will advance information technology. We believe that the ALA/ARL recommendations for a new Part D to Title II would accomplish these objectives, and we urge this committee to incorporate these provisions into Title II as part of the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act.

The challenge to preserve existing information and to assimilate the enormous increase in new information is greatly straining the capacities of research libraries and the universities of which they are an essential part. I am optimistic, however, that with the cooperation of all interested parties in the ways I have tried to sketch this morning, we can expand our national information base and increase access to it in ways that will facilitate the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge. Put succinctly, by strengthening research libraries, we strengthen the processes of teaching and research which are so important to the future of our nation. By reauthorizing Title II-C and adding a new program for technological development, this committee can provide the Department of Education with the tools it needs to participate in this challenging but exciting information revolution.

I thank the Committee for this opportunity to appear before you and would be happy to answer any questions, either now or after others have testified.

Mr. **Ford**. For the purposes of your testimony, how does AAU interpret a research library or define a research library?

Mr. **O'Neil**. The term is not a term of art but it includes presumably all those libraries that are members of ARL. That is, of course, more than the AAU member institutions, roughly twice the number of those that are AAU member institutions. It is roughly 125, 117. I think that is a rough working definition, although we also recognize as the current programs have, that there may be important research collections in libraries that are not technically ARL members, but for working purposes, I think it is basically the ARL membership.

Mr. **Ford**. You have defined them as a class, part of a class because of their association. How do you describe a research library for purposes of your understanding of the title?

Mr. **O'Neil**. In a sense, any university or college library, and some public library collections, are research libraries, but there is a kind of geometric growth in the particular need of the large research collections and from that point of view, the criteria for ARL membership would I think roughly accord with our concept of what a research library is for these purposes. Other members of the panel may react differently, particularly Dr. Churchwell.

Mr. **Ford**. Even counting courthouse libraries as a research library?

Mr. **O'Neil**. Yes sir, it is a rare collection of academic or specialized libraries that isn't in some way a research collection. It is only the smaller public libraries I guess that seldom serve research purposes, but we are concerned here and have seen title II(c) as concerned with the major university and specialized research collections.

Mr. **Ford**. Mr. Coleman.

Mr. **Coleman**. Thank you very much, Dr. O'Neil. I hope you catch that plane.

Mr. **Ford**. Mr. Churchwell.

STATEMENT OF DR. CHARLES D. CHURCHWELL, DEAN OF LIBRARY SERVICES, WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS, MO

Mr. **Churchwell**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am Charles Churchwell, dean of library services at Washington University in St. Louis. I appear before the subcommittee on behalf of the Association of Research Libraries which is an organization of about 117 of the largest research libraries in the United States and Canada. All members of ARL have a vital interest in the Higher Education Act and indeed deeply appreciate the opportunity to make recommendations to you regarding the reauthorization of this important legislation.

As you know, ARL and the American Library Association have worked together to identify the areas of greatest need for academic libraries. We recommend that the law be reauthorized with the following modifications:

One, adoption of our now need base criteria for title II(a).

Two, elimination of special purpose grants in title II(b).

Three, we are not recommending any substantive change in title II(c).

Four, adoption of new language for title II(d).

Five, additional language for title VI(a) to earmark funds for improving the availability of periodicals published outside the United States and which have research value.

We also recommend the authorization levels of title II (a), (b), (c) and (d) in the amount listed in H.R. 5210, which as you know, is a bill that was introduced by the chairman and Representative Coleman. The level we are recommending for title VI(a) represents a modest initial investment for foreign periodicals with an annual increase of about 9 percent.

Since my full testimony has been filed, I would like to spend the remainder of my time emphasizing the reason why we believe these recommendations are so important to the welfare of research libraries.

Title II(a) is still essential because the cost, as you know, of library materials have escalated dramatically during the past decade. Indeed, the cost of a hard covered book in the United States, or a domestic monograph, has increased by more than 125 percent.

We also recommended that no funds have been allocated for title II(a) for the past 2 years primarily because of the need for clear criteria of need. We are therefore recommending new criteria for new title II(a) which will identify libraries with the greatest need.

And four, we believe the new criteria are fair and simple to administer.

My colleagues, Nancy Kranich and Harold Shill, are here to discuss these new criteria in detail if that is your wish.

Under title II(b), one major change we are recommending would be to provide for an acutely needed financial support for academic research libraries to use state of the art technology to further gain access to research materials through our national network.

Under II(b), yes, we would recommend that we retain the important library training and research grants. The library training portion of that title II(b) has been instrumental in the recruitment of minorities and women for specialized positions in librarianship.

We would also recommend the retention of the research program because it is the only kind that is federally funded to support research broadly in the field of library science and information. Under title II(c), as President O'Neil has indicated, we strongly urge reauthorization and full funding for this program, primarily because during its short 8 years of existence it has been a strong force in the area of helping research libraries build and expand access to their own materials, a condition which did not exist to a great extent before title II(c).

We also urge reauthorization of title II(c) because the program has allowed libraries to acquire and organize unique, and in some cases, rare materials.

And third, as President O'Neil has also indicated, there is a pressing need to engage in a massive program to preserve our intellectual heritage. Title II(c) has enabled some libraries to begin work in that important area. We need to continue title II(c) and also because we have been able to identify about 6 million bibliographic records which need to be converted to machine readable form and thereby make them more available to all members of the academic community.

As mentioned, we have made some progress toward preservation. Reauthorizing of title II(c) would continue that process. We do not know, of course, how many books exactly are brittle but we do know from an estimate from the Library of Congress that about 25 percent of its general reference collection and law collection have already reached the brittle stage. They have also indicated about 75,000 new volumes reach the brittle stage each year from that collection alone. While the magnitude will differ, the same situation exists in other research libraries around the Nation.

Finally, we ask that title II(c) be reauthorized because it will assist in reducing the erosion of our research collections. In spite of the fact that ARL libraries during the past 10 years were able to increase their budgets by 93 percent in the purchase of books, and about 155 percent in the purchase of serials, those libraries collectively have grown only by 30 percent. Title II(c) would assist in the decreasing of that erosion.

Now, to the important II(d) section, which we are also recommending. In spite of the progress which has been made providing greater access to research collection, there are many libraries in this country who are unable to take advantage of the increased expansion primarily because they do not have the capital to buy the electronic and telecommunications equipment needed to access those materials.

The new title II(d) would allow all academic libraries to be eligible for at least $15,000 over a 3-year period for the purpose of planning, development, and implementing technological progress within their libraries.

We are also recommending title II(d) because it would enable some libraries to combine their expertise and provide services in a more cost effective manner. Title II(d) would also allow those libraries which have shown that they can use technology effectively to share that information and that expertise with other libraries.

And fourth, title II(d) would enable public and nonprofit organizations to improve their delivery of services to the academic research library community.

Let me turn now very briefly to title VI(a). ARL would like to underscore the need for systemic acquisition of foreign periodicals of research value. There is no federally funded programs specifically set aside to meet this critical need. We, therefore, urge the adoption of title VI(a) which my colleagues on the panel will discuss in more detail.

Finally, I would like to say on behalf of all ARL members, we appreciate this opportunity to present our recommendations to you for the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act. We are convinced that the modifications and additions we have proposed would focus Federal support for academic libraries on programs that would make significant contributions to the advancement of higher education.

I will be happy to answer any questions you may have now or after my other colleagues have spoken.

[The prepared statement of Charles D. Churchwell follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. CHARLES D. CHURCHWELL, DEAN OF LIBRARY SERVICES, WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS, MO, ON BEHALF OF THE ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH LIBRARIES

Introduction

My name is Charles D. Churchwell and I am Dean of Library Services at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri. I appear before the Subcommittee on behalf of the Association of Research Libraries (ARL). ARL is an organization of 117 of the largest research libraries in the United States and Canada. The books, journals, archival and other materials in these libraries collectively form a valuable national resource to support teaching, research, and scholarship. ARL members have a vital interest in the Higher Education Act and we appreciate the opportunity to make recommendations to you regarding the reauthorization of this legislation.

ARL and the American Library Association worked together to identify the areas of greatest need for academic research libraries. The result was a report, previously submitted to the Subcommittee, that contains joint recommendations for modification and addition to the Higher Education Act. In brief, we recommend that the law be reauthorized with:

- adoption of our need-based criteria for Title II-A,
- elimination of special purpose grants in Title II-B in favor of a technologically oriented grant program proposed for II-D,
- no substantive change in Title II-C,
- adoption of new language for Title II-D that supports application of new technologies in libraries, and
- additional language in Title VI-A to earmark funds for improving the availability of periodicals published outside the United States that are of scholarly or research importance.

We recommend the following authorization levels for Titles II and VI of the Higher Education Act.

	II-A College Library Resources	II-B Library Training, Research & Development	II-C Strengthening Research Library Resources	II-D College Library Technology & Cooperation	VI-A Periodicals Published Outside the U.S.
1987	$ 12,500,000	$ 5,000,000	$ 12,500,000	$ 5,000,000	$ 1,000,000
1988	13,750,000	5,500,000	13,750,000	5,500,000	1,100,000
1989	15,125,000	6,050,000	15,125,000	6,050,000	1,200,000
1990	16,637,500	6,655,000	16,637,500	6,655,000	1,300,000
1991	18,301,250	7,320,500	18,301,250	7,320,500	1,400,000

The recommended authorization levels for Title II, parts A, B, C and D, follow the amounts in HR 5210, a bill introduced in 1984 by Chairman Ford and Representative Coleman. The level recommended for Title VI, part A, represents a modest initial investment for foreign periodicals. The annual increment is based on the increase in amount paid for periodicals by member libraries of ARL in 1984 over 1983, an increase of about 9.4%. All recommended authorization levels reflect need tempered by realistic expectations.

Recommendations for Title II-A

The intent of Title II-A is to provide federal funds to academic libraries of institutions of higher education to acquire resource materials and to establish and maintain networks for sharing library resources among institutions of higher education. The need for such federal support continues and may be greater now than when the legislation was written originally. The cost of materials to serve the academic needs of students and faculty has escalated dramatically during the past decade. According to the

Library Acquisition Price Index, the average cost of a U.S. hardcover book or foreign monograph more than doubled between 1974 and 1983, or from a base index of 100.0 in 1974 to 221.4 in 1983. (See The Bowker Annual of Library and Book Trade Information, 1985 edition, p.445.) A result of this is to place greater reliance on state, regional, and national networks to share library resources. Indeed, these library networks are now absolutely essential to maintain services in most libraries. Simultaneous with price increases for library materials, federal appropriations were reduced. The grants awarded under II-A became so small and bought so little that it was questionable if the results justified the federal and institutional investment to operate the program. Consequently, no funds have been appropriated by Congress for Title II-A since 1984, pending development of criteria that could target II-A grants to those libraries most in need of the funds.

The criteria that ARL supports for use in awarding II-A grants were developed by a division of the American Library Association called the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL). The two people who conducted the research for ACRL to use to develop these criteria are here today, Nancy Kranich and Harold Shill. These two people designed and conducted a thoughtful research project that provided information needed to develop criteria that are both fair and simple to administer. ARL recommends that these criteria be incorporated as part of Title II-A so that federal funds may be targeted to those academic libraries in greatest need of federal financial assistance.

Adoption of these criteria will benefit all libraries, even those which will not qualify for Title II-A grants. All libraries, regardless of size or primary audience, are linked together in formal and informal relationships. Libraries constantly share materials and refer users to institutions where needed materials are available. When any library, or category of libraries, lags behind in building collections or contributing bibliographic records to networks that support sharing of material, there is a negative impact on others in the system. ARL supports reauthorization of Title II-A because it will contribute to the overall well being of all libraries linked together in the common goal of providing support for the higher education community.

Recommendations for Title II-B

The only change that ARL recommends for Title II-B is that the special purpose grants described in section 224 be replaced by a revised and technologically-oriented program proposed as a new Title II-D. Application of new technology to library operations and services will greatly benefit users of academic libraries. The details of this recommendation appear later in our testimony. We recommend reauthorization of the Library Career Training and the Research and Demonstration grants but with a reallocation of the available funds so that two thirds are for training grants and one third for research and demonstration awards. The training grants provided by this section of the law have encouraged qualified individuals to enter the profession. Libraries seek to increase minority representation on professional staffs and II-B has been instrumental in attracting qualified minority students to enter professional library education programs. In fact, over 70% of the fellowships awarded under II-B were to minority students.

The research program authorized under this part of Title II is the only federal coordinated program of research in library and information science. It allows the U.S. Department of Education to support modest research proposals that address "improvement to libraries, training in librarianship, and information technology." Examples of how this research money has been applied are: identification of the role of the nation's libraries in response to the findings and recommendations of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, a study of entry-level professional competencies, and a study of the role of the book in the future and the influence that computer and video technologies may have on books, reading, and the printed word.

Recommendations for Title II-C

ARL recommends that Title II, part C, Strengthening Research Library Resources, be reauthorized without substantive change. The program has contributed successfully to the advancement of scholarship by strengthening the collections of the nation's largest libraries and by facilitating the sharing of resources among those libraries and between them and other academic and public libraries. The only change we believe is necessary in the legislative language is elimination of a reference to section 224 (Special Purpose Grants) that we propose to delete in favor of new language for Title II, part D.

In the eight years that II-C has been funded, $46,752,264 has been allocated to fund projects in 96 different research libraries to build and expand access to significant collections and to facilitate the use and sharing of research resources. Eighty-three institutions have received one or more awards directly and an additional 13 institutions have participated as members of joint projects. Title II-C projects build on existing strengths in order to assist major research libraries to make material of a unique nature, and other material not widely available, accessible to researchers and scholars not connected with the parent institution of the holding library. It ensures that the most significant research collections are part of the national network of interlibrary lending and therefore extends benefits far beyond the 96 institutions that have participated thus far in the projects. (Attached to my testimony are several tables prepared by the U.S. Department of Education that provide detail about the allocation and use of II-C funds over the eight year history of the program.)

Title II-C has made a major contribution to increasing the availability and accessibility of bibliographic records for researchers. In the eight years of the program, 71% of II-C appropriations, or almost $33 million, has been awarded for projects that provide bibliographic control of material required for academic research. This support for improving bibliographic information about what libraries contain is essential if researchers are to identify and locate specific materials. To illustrate the nature of the problem, ARL member libraries alone report combined holdings of over 305 million volumes, 215 million microform units, and over 3 million periodical titles. In addition, research libraries house large collections of manuscript materials, sheet music, maps, audio-visual resources, and document collections from all levels of government in the United States and foreign countries as well as international organizations. The amount of information available in research library collections in the United States is enormous. The challenge is to identify the material that is relevant for an individual researcher and determine where that material is available for use. Without high-quality, standardized bibliographic records that describe the collections in some detail, the full potential of the resources available for research cannot be tapped.

II-C also supports two other program activities: preservation of research library materials, which received 21% of the funds (just over $10 million), and collection development, which has received 8% of all funds (not quite $4 million). However, the federal funds appropriated for II-C (between $5 and $6 million each year) have been insufficient to make a significant impact in the areas of preservation or collection development. While the projects undertaken in these areas have been of merit and have made contributions to the nation's network of research resources, they have only begun to scratch the surface of work needed in these two areas.

The present annual authorization level of $15,000,000 is a more realistic level of support to meet the goals of II-C in all three program areas and to fund some of the projects that have been proposed but not funded by the II-C program because of limited resources. In 1983, ARL surveyed member libraries in the United States to determine projects that they would try to undertake if funds were to be made available over the next five years. Sixty-three respondents identified at least $45 million in needed projects over the next five years. This included work in all three of the general program areas. At present there are many more acceptable proposals than there are funds to award. For the FY 1985 II-C awards, of the $18 million dollars requested in proposals, at least $15 million qualified for the award. However, only $6 million was appropriated for the program in that year, and therefore many excellent projects had to be rejected. While we assess that there are enough worthy projects among ARL members alone to justify an annual authorization of $15 million, we have recommended reauthorization at only $12,500,000 the first year with increments that reach $18,301,250 in the fifth year. We do so to be responsive to constraints imposed by the federal deficit and with the desire to establish authorization levels that more closely match eventual appropriation levels.

To give the subcommittee an idea of the volume of remaining work that might appropriately be supported with II-C funds, we provide the following summary of needs for research library collections.

It is increasingly difficult for libraries to develop collections at a rate that parallels the pace of world publishing output. The costs of acquiring research materials rose dramatically in the late 1970's, peaked in 1981, and then leveled off with steady but more moderate increases. ARL collects statistical data from its members regularly, including the amount spent for the purchase of library material. A ten-year analysis of information from 84 libraries that have been members and reported data since 1974-75 indicates that expenditures for books and other non-serial materials rose by 93%, expenditures for serial purchases increased by 155%, but the number of volumes held by these libraries increased by only 31%. Title II-C funds are needed to assist a library to purchase unique material that is of value not just to the parent institution but also to the region or nation.

The contributions of Title II-C toward increasing the availability and accessibility of bibliographic records have already been noted. However, a recent ARL study projects that there are still at least 6 to 7 million unique bibliographic records for books that are of academic significance but are not yet in machine-readable form. This means that there are 6 to 7 million items that have limited availability to scholars. Obviously, while headway has been made in the past eight years, a sizable amount of work remains to be done in the area. ARL recommends that the II-C program continue to assume a major role in supporting libraries to pursue projects that result in increased access to library materials.

A third area of great need in libraries is preservation of research library materials. Precise figures measuring the amount of such materials threatened by deterioration are not available. Knowledgeable estimates, however, place the problem at a seriously high mark: one quarter to one half of the paper in existing research library book collections (depending on the age and nature of the collection) is already in such poor condition that further use by circulation or photocopying may result in loss of text. It is further estimated that all but approximately 10% of the remainder of book collections are likely to reach the same endangered state eventually. To illustrate, the Library of Congress estimates that 25% of the books in its general and law collections are already brittle with approximately 77,000 additional books reaching the brittle state each year.

The potential loss to scholarship is staggering. The National Endowment for the Humanities has recently established an Office of Preservation that promises to focus program objectives in this important area. However, the predicted loss of such large segments of the nation's research resources is a catastrophe of such significance that no single solution is sufficient. The $5 million requested, but not yet appropriated, for the new NEH Office is enough to make an impact but in no way signals fulfillment of the federal commitment to support preservation of our intellectual heritage. By agency definition, the NEH funds will be made available for preservation of materials supporting the study of the humanities. Deteriorating paper stops at no discipline: social science, science and technology, legal and other professional literature is equally threatened. Title II-C funds should continue to be made available to contribute to the preservation for research materials.

To illustrate the use to which II-C funds have been used, let me provide several examples.

> The State Historical Society of Wisconsin in Madison was awarded $125,460 to catalog and preserve a collection of 40,000 pamphlets, emphasizing social and cultural history, that have been collected by the library from 1864 to 1966. Less than half of the titles in this collection are presently described in any nationally available bibliographic database.
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> The University of Montana in Missoula received $115,403 to improve access to material in the Northwest Collection of the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Library. The Northwest Collection contains materials on the fur trade, early exploration of the west, Montana Indians, and local history. Eight hundred unique oral history tape recordings on women's history, fur trade, smokejumping, and on Senator Mansfield's career in Congress will also be described and their availability noted in an online database.
>
> The Massachusetts Institute of Technology was awared $217,517 to provide national access to the MIT Libraries' collection of scientific and technological publications issued by the Institute from 1861 through 1974. The project will also organize major collections that document the diverse nature of research activities conducted at MIT in the post World War II era.

The University of Michigan received $166,510 to strengthen, preserve, and increase access to its preeminent mathematics collections. This will include filming of periodical titles and purchase of books published between 1940 and the present that have not been issued by commercial publishers. Emphasis will be on foreign publications, especially Russian books and French seminar materials.

The University of Missouri in Columbia received $202,757 to improve access to pre-1800 research material in its collection. Appropriate titles will be reported to the Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue project center where holdings will be entered into an international database, or to the Stillwell/Goff incunabula census. Material needing preservation will be treated or microfilmed.

New York Public Library was awarded $212,583 to preserve resources in the Library's collection of World War I material that consists of periodicals, books, pamphlets, broadsides, scrapbooks, maps, and manuscripts, much of it gathered during and immediately after the war years. The collection contains material in over 10 languages published in more than 20 countries.

The benefits of II-C have been significant and serve the nation's scholars now and into the future. In order to guarantee that projects supported with II-C funds continue to be carried out effectively, and the results shared widely with the public, ARL asks that the committee consider including two points in the report that accompanies your legislation: (1) the need for II-C proposals to specify adherence to national standards and/or widely-accepted guidelines, and (2) the provision of effective bibliographic access to material acquired or preserved as part of a II-C project. Proposals for federal funds for preservation of the content of research materials by microfilming should be reviewed to ensure that preservation microfilming standards and guidelines will be observed insofar as they apply. Sources of preservation microfilming standards and guidelines include the American National Standards Institute, the Library of Congress, the Research Libraries Group, and the Society of American Archivists. Also, an effective means for providing access to material acquired or preserved with federal funds should be addressed in the proposal. The most effective means of providing access is usually the preparation of machine-readable bibliographic records with provision for these records to be available to any library or shared-cataloging database that wishes to obtain them. Such language in your report will continue to ensure that future appropriations will be used to the broadest possible benefit.

Recommendations for Title II-D

Entirely new language is recommended for Title II, part D, which would replace the never-funded national periodical system with a College Library Technology and Cooperation Grants program. The purpose of the proposed program is to assist academic libraries with application of new information and telecommunication technologies to improve user access to collections, increase sharing of resources among libraries, streamline the acquisition and organization of materials, and respond to the use of such technologies in information products. ARL recommends that the program make minimum awards of $15,000 (which could be expended over a three year period) to four different kinds of recipients.

The first category of eligible recipients are institutions of higher education that can demonstrate a need for special assistance for the planning, development, acquisition, installation, maintenance, or replacing of technological equipment (including computer hardware and software) that is necessary for that institution to participate in networks for the sharing of library resources. Many academic libraries have not been able to allocate funds from their operating budgets sufficient to take advantage of network participation. The capital costs have posed a significant barrier. This program would help these institutions acquire the equipment necessary to join a network for sharing library materials or, if already a member, to significantly upgrade their capabilities for full participation.

A second category of eligible recipients are combinations of higher education institutions that demonstrate a need for special assistance to establish and strengthen joint-use library facilities, resources, or equipment. This would encourage several institutions to work together to share facilities, resources, or equipment for technological applications. It would, for example, permit one library that has already applied technology to some library operations, to expand its own computer capabilities by offering to share facilities, resources or equipment with one or more libraries that may not have been able to acquire equipment on their own.

A third category of beneficiaries of this program are other public or private non-profit organizations that provide library and information services to institutions of higher education on a formal, cooperative basis for the purpose of establishing, developing, or expanding programs or projects that improve their services to institutions of higher education. Encouragement and financial support for not-for-profit organizations that provide library and information services to institutions of higher education is an investment that will benefit the education community many times over. Federal funds invested to improve or expand the services of such organizations will help ensure that current and effective technological applications are widely adopted in academic libraries.

The fourth category of institutions eligible to receive grants under this proposal for II-D are institutions of higher education conducting research or demonstration projects to meet national or regional needs in utilizing technology to enhance library or information services. These grants would encourage institutions of higher education that have pioneered in developing applications of new technologies to pursue research and demonstration projects to develop exemplary uses of new technologies that have application in many libraries. As with the funds for non-profit organizations providing services to institutions of higher education, federal support for such advanced research and development projects in institutions of higher education would be a wise investment for the future.

A minimum award of $15,000 is recommended because we believe smaller amounts would have limited impact. It would also establish a minimum commitment of $5,000 from the institution, state, or a private source since the proposal requires that funds matching at least one third of the federal award be spent for the same purpose. Allowing up to three years for a library to spend an award is a practical recommendation because the nature of projects supported by the program may require this much time to be planned, developed, and fully implemented.

The rate of change in technology development requires that this program be administered at the federal level by a person who is demonstrably an expert in state-of-the-art library technology. We ask that the committee consider this recommendation to ensure that the program is carried out efficiently and effectively.

The College Library Technology and Cooperation Grants program (II-D) is significantly different from the Strengthening Research Library Resources program (II-C) and ARL recommends that institutions not be prohibited from receiving funds from both in the same year. The purpose of the II-C program is to build, describe, and preserve the collections of major research libraries. The focus is, and should remain, on the resources. The focus of the proposed II-D program is application of new technology to library operations to make library resources more accessible and available. It is less concerned with the nature of the resources in the collection than it is with the management and transmission of information about the collection to users. Both aspects need to be emphasized, but not at the expense of one another, in order to provide quality library support to the academic community of this country.

An additional reason for allowing an institution to compete for awards from both programs stems from the cooperative nature of the II-D awards. Requiring a library that is eligible to apply for a II-C award to make a choice between it and a II-D application could result in undesirable restrictions on participation in cooperative II-D projects and elimination of significant participation.

Recommendations for Title VI-A

The purpose of Title VI of the Higher Education Act is to "assist in the development of resources and trained personnel for international study, international research, and foreign language study and to coordinate programs of the Federal Government in the areas of international study and research and foreign language study." Part A of Title VI establishes grants for institutions of higher education to establish, strengthen, and operate graduate and undergraduate centers and programs to serve as national resources for the pursuit of the overall purpose of Title VI. The current law specifies that grants to such centers having important library collections may be used for the maintenance of such collections, and in fact the U.S. Department of Education has encouraged Title VI center applicants to use some of their funding for this purpose. However, over the years there has been a decline in the percent of Title VI funds that have been allocated for the purpose of maintaining or strengthening library collections. The percent of total Title VI grants used for library resources declined from 21.2% in 1973-74 to 15.9% in 1981-82 (the last year the Department of Education prepared such a calculation). This decline has paralleled an increase in the cost of maintaining a library collection. The result is a serious threat to research requiring material published outside the United States where delayed acquisition may mean that material is unavailable because of small print runs. The proposed amendment addresses the category of material published outside the United States that is most vulnerable to curtailed or erratic availability of funds: periodicals.

ARL is therefore proposing that a new section be added to Title VI, part A, that would earmark funds for the specific purpose of acquiring periodicals published outside the United States that are of scholarly or research importance. Significant improvement in the nation's collections of periodicals from foreign countries depends upon reasonable assurance that funding will be available to continue acquiring the titles once they have been selected. Otherwise the original acquisition may prove to be too fragmentary to be of significance.

We recommend Title VI be amended to establish a separate program for the acquisition and sharing of periodicals published outside the United States for four reasons. Our first reason for recommending this change stems from the decline of VI-A funds made available to libraries. While these funds have been helpful as far as they have reached, the decline of the amounts made available from year to year limits the impact they make. Secondly, reliable and consistent funding is necessary to avoid serious gaps in the holdings of this country's collections of periodicals published outside our borders. A third point is that while other sections of the Higher Education Act might be applied toward this purpose, the competition for funds is great and adoption of this amendment would assure that a modest annual appropriation is earmarked for this particular purpose. Finally, and most importantly, the material is essential for the successful accomplishment of the purpose of Title VI. Our students and scholars cannot gain an understanding of foreign language and international studies relying only upon material published within this country and foreign periodical literature provides current and relevant articles.

Conclusion

On behalf of all the members of ARL, I wish to thank you for this opportunity to present our recommendations for reauthorization of the Higher Education Act. We are convinced that the modifications or additions we have proposed would focus federal support for academic libraries on programs that would result in significant achievements and contribute to the advancement of higher education. I will be happy to answer your questions.

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The following charts were prepared by the
U.S. Department of Education
to document the allocation and use of funds for
Title II-C, Strengthening Research Library Resources,
over the eight year history of the program.

STATE PROJECT AND FUNDING TOTALS FOR FY 78 - FY 85

State	FY 1978		FY 1979		FY 1980		FY 1981		FY 1982		FY 1983		FY 1984		FY 1985		TOTALS	
	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
ALASKA			1	$150,000		$ 4,116					1	$187,269					2	$341,385
ARIZONA					1	202,549	1	$184,785			1	98,978	1	$ 95,640			4	581,952
CALIFORNIA	2	$846,500	3	1,175,000	2	1,247,332	2	335,708	3	$493,326	3	431,821	4	1,128,461	2	$496,877	21	6,155,025
COLORADO	1	219,103	1	215,000	1	236,356											3	670,459
CONNECTICUT	1	149,800	1	160,000	1	295,051	1	228,000	1	400,000	2	493,372	1	82,173			8	1,808,396
DISTRICT OF COL.	1	142,023							1	108,990	1	58,861			3	274,964	6	584,838
FLORIDA							1	800,000			1	378,459	1	700,000			3	1,878,459
HAWAII							1	150,000							1	140,000	2	290,000
ILLINOIS	3	483,416	3	443,749	3	323,076	5	610,287	4	516,494	3	546,290	6	879,462	6	822,636	33	4,625,410
INDIANA	1	389,106	1	200,000		4,116	1	145,000	1	167,516	1	230,080	1	608,522	1	58,889	7	1,803,229
IOWA							1	127,975									1	127,975
KANSAS			1	116,689	1	136,967			1	148,500	1	144,313			1	126,147	5	672,616
KENTUCKY															1	142,080	1	142,080
MARYLAND											1	71,456			1	93,356	2	164,812
MASSACHUSETTS	2	621,371	2	450,000	1	404,889	2	354,816	3	687,867	3	548,546	2	312,499	3	619,152	18	3,999,140
MICHIGAN			1	350,000	1	606,000	1	300,000	1	133,901	1	165,337	1	86,645	3	338,796	9	1,980,679
MINNESOTA									1	66,309	1	122,602					2	188,911
MISSOURI	1	200,000	1	200,000	1	244,571					1	205,168	2	130,555	1	202,757	7	1,183,051
MONTANA															1	115,403	1	115,403
NEBRASKA									1	90,000							1	90,000
NEW HAMPSHIRE							1	150,000					1	183,336	1	249,916	3	583,252
NEW JERSEY	1	219,395	2	450,000	1	157,777			1	110,000			1	116,566	1	93,575	7	1,147,313
NEW YORK	3	1,050,700	5	1,237,062	3	788,197	3	1,113,994	3	455,034	7	1,376,855	7	903,907	8	1,303,621	39	8,229,370
NORTH CAROLINA	1	250,000	1	220,500	2	571,445	1	270,937	1	339,017	1	305,951	1	144,532			8	2,102,372
OHIO							2	259,306	3	611,167	1	113,093			1	133,500	7	1,117,066
OKLAHOMA									1	203,451							1	203,451
PENNSYLVANIA					1	167,739	1	43,680	1	108,798	1	106,875	4	370,713	4	304,578	12	1,102,383
RHODE ISLAND					1	272,471	1	165,000	1	168,626					1	170,845	4	776,942
SOUTH CAROLINA							1	172,000	1	132,736	1	96,612					3	401,348
TENNESSEE									1	148,159	1	51,918					2	200,077
TEXAS	1	250,000	1	150,000	1	175,000	1	174,000	2	240,439	1	180,998	1	184,944	1	119,671	9	1,475,052
UTAH							1	110,983	1	119,680							2	230,563
VERMONT															1	67,777	1	67,777
VIRGINIA			1	300,000		500					1	85,146	1	72,045			3	457,691
WASHINGTON	1	93,327			1	150,000	1	175,025	1	250,000							4	668,352
WISCONSIN	1	85,255	1	182,000		4,116	1	128,604	1	60,000					1	125,460	5	585,435
TOTALS	20	$4,999,996	26	$6,000,000	22	$5,992,268	30	$6,000,000	35	$5,760,000	35	$6,000,000	35	$6,000,000	43	$6,000,000	246	$46,752,264

Totals and Percentages of Major Activities
FY 78 - FY 85

Fiscal Year	Bibliographic Control	Percent of Funding	Preservation	Percent of Funding	Collection Development	Percent of Funding	Total Funding
1978	$ 2,864,339	57	$ 1,340,554	27	$ 795,103	16	$ 4,999,996
1979	3,978,366	66	1,393,201	23	628,433	11	6,000,000
1980	4,345,765	73	805,383	13	841,120	14	5,992,268
1981	4,249,840	71	1,298,542	22	451,618	7	6,000,000
1982	4,042,549	70	1,521,258	27	196,193	3	5,760,000
1983	4,738,575	79	909,612	15	351,813	6	6,000,000
1984	4,526,772	76	1,044,973	17	428,255	7	6,000,000
1985	4,236,695	70	1,729,997	29	33,308	1	6,000,000
Totals	$32,982,901	71	$10,043,520	21	$ 3,725,843	8	$46,752,264

SUMMARY OF PROGRAM FUNDING RECORD

Fiscal Year	Authorization	Request	Appropriation	Awarded
1977	$10,000,000	0	0	0
1978	$15,000,000	$5,000,000	$5,000,000	$4,999,996
1979	$20,000,000	$5,000,000	$6,000,000	$6,000,000
1980	$20,000,000	$6,000,000	$6,000,000	$5,992,268
1981	$10,000,000	$7,000,000	$6,000,000	$6,000,000
1982	$15,000,000	$6,000,000	$5,760,000	$5,760,000
1983	$15,000,000	$ 0	$6,000,000	$6,000,000
1984	$15,000,000	$ 0	$6,000,000	$6,000,000
1985	$15,000,000	$ 0	$6,000,000	$6,000,000
		Totals	$46,760,000	$46,752,264

SUMMARY OF MAJOR ACTIVITY FOR FY 78 - FY 85

Institution	FY 78	FY 79	FY 80	FY 81	FY 82	FY 83	FY 84	FY 85	Total Funds
Academy of Natural Sciences				B $ 43,680			B-P $130,016	B $ 55,293	$ 228,989
American Museum of Natural History	B-C $250,000	B-C $242,165	B-C $237,819	B-P $166,539	B $125,929		P-C 83,953	P 145,739	$1,252,144
Art Institute of Chicago	P-C 163,200							P 64,093	$ 227,293
Boston Public Library	B 238,240	B 150,000	4,116*	P 187,069	P 158,139	P 157,577		P 174,543	$1,069,684
Brown University			B-C 272,471	B 165,000	B-P 168,626			B 170,845	$ 776,942
Center for Research Libraries				B 122,809	B 230,011	B 299,488	B 114,278	P 145,000	$ 911,586
Cleveland Public Library				B 80,306					$ 80,306
Colorado State University	B 219,103	B 215,000	B 236,356						$ 670,459
Columbia University		P 250,000	4,116*			B-P 349,530		B 210,120	$ 813,766
Cornell University		C 194,897	B-C 240,413	B-C 284,639		B 241,204	B 99,734		$1,060,887
Dartmouth College				B-P 150,000			B-P-C 183,336	B-P 249,916	$ 583,252
Detroit Public Library								B-P 106,030	$ 106,030
Duke University	C 250,000		C 250,000						$ 500,000
Folger Shakespeare Library	B-P-C 142,023				B-P-C 108,990	B-C 58,861		B 80,368	$ 390,242
George Washington University								B-P 99,670	$ 99,670
Georgetown University								B 94,926	$ 94,926
Harvard University	P 383,131	P 300,000	P 400,773	P 167,747	B-P 288,985	B-P 249,834	B-P 249,998	B-P 227,092	$2,267,560
Huntington Library	P 171,500	P 225,000	P 251,551			B 35,750			$ 683,801
Indiana University	B-C 389,106	B 200,000	4,116*	B 145,000	B 167,516	B-P-C 230,080	B 608,522		$1,744,340
Iowa State University				B-P 127,975					$ 127,975
John Hopkins University						B-P 71,456		B 93,356	$ 164,812

Institution	FY 78	FY 79	FY 80	FY 81	FY 82	FY 83	FY 84	FY 85	Total Funds
Massachusetts Institute of Technology					B-P $240,743	B-P $141,135	B $ 62,501	B $217,517	$ 661,896
Metropolitan Museum of Art						B-P 101,850			$ 101,850
Michigan State University						B-P 165,337	B 86,645		$ 251,982
Missouri Botanical Garden	B $200,000	B $200,000	B $244,571						$ 644,571
New York Botanical Garden					B 225,042	B 273,359			$ 498,401
New York Historical Society							B-P 69,929	B-P 65,585	$ 135,514
New York Public Library	P 550,700	P 300,000		B-P 662,816			P 235,339	P 212,583	$1,961,438
New York State Education Department	B 250,000	B 250,000	B 305,849			B 152,748			$ 958,597
New York University							B-P 185,136	B 166,887	$ 352,023
Newberry Library				P 131,658					$ 131,658
Northern Illinois University							B 93,480	B 141,753	$ 235,233
Northwestern University		B-C 250,000	4,116*		B-C 55,104		B 172,193		$ 481,413
Ohio State University				B-C 179,000	B-C 101,017	B-C 113,093			$ 393,110
Ohio University					B 115,999			B 133,500	$ 249,499
Pierpont Morgan Library						B-P 89,675	B-P-C 97,456		$ 187,131
Princeton University	B 219,395	B 250,000	B 153,661		B-P 110,000		B 116,566	P 93,575	$ 943,197
Rice University					B 82,858				$ 82,858
Rutgers University		B-P 200,000	4,116*						$ 204,116
Southern Illinois University				B-P-C 180,000	B-P 90,006				$ 270,006
Stanford University				B 209,013	B 231,030	B 287,448	B 350,000	B 240,377	$1,317,868
Stanford University Hoover Institute							P 262,000		$ 262,000

Institution	FY 78	FY 79	FY 80	FY 81	FY 82	FY 83	FY 84	FY 85	Total Funds
State Historical Society of Wisconsin								B-P 125,460	$ 125,460
SUNY at Buffalo					B 104,063	B 168,489		B 109,707	$ 382,259
Syracuse University							B-P 132,360	P 160,000	$ 292,360
Temple University							B-P 66,748		$ 66,748
University of Alaska		B-P 150,000	4,116*			P 187,269			$ 341,385
University of Arizona			B-C 202,549	B 184,785		B 98,978	B 95,640		$ 581,952
University of California, Berkeley	B 675,000	B 750,000	B 995,781		B-P-C 157,297		B-P-C 250,566	B-P-C 256,500	$3,085,144
University of California, Davis					B-P 104,999				$ 104,999
University of California, San Diego						B-P-C 108,623	B-P-C 265,895		$ 374,518
University of Chicago	B 250,000	B-P-C 68,749	B-P-C 254,040	P-C 55,820		B-P-C 136,119	B 159,247	B 195,000	$1,118,975
University of Cincinnati					B-P 394,151				$ 394,151
University of Connecticut						B 68,372	B 82,173		$ 150,545
University of Florida				B 800,000		B 378,459	B 700,000		$1,878,459
University of Hawaii				B 150,000				B 140,000	$ 290,000
University of Illinois	C 70,216	C 125,000	C 64,920	B-C 120,000	B-C 141,373	B-C 110,683	B-C 182,429	B-C 125,100	$ 939,721
University of Illinois, Chicago							B 157,835	B 151,690	$ 309,525
University of Kansas		B 116,689	B 136,967		B-P 148,500	B-P 144,313		B 126,147	$ 672,616
University of Kentucky								B-P 142,080	$ 142,080
University of Michigan		B 350,000	B 606,000	B 300,000	B-P 133,901			B-P-C 232,766 (2)	$1,622,667
University of Minnesota					B 66,309	B 122,602			$ 188,911
University of Missouri							B 68,230	B-P 202,757	$ 270,987

Institution	FY 78	FY 79	FY 80	FY 81	FY 82	FY 83	FY 84	FY 85	Total Funds
University of Montana								B 115,403	$ 115,403
University of Nebraska					B-P-C 90,000				$ 90,000
University of North Carolina		B 220,500	B 321,445	B 270,937	B 339,007	B 305,951	B 144,532		$1,602,372
University of Notre Dame								B-P 58,889	$ 58,889
University of Oklahoma					B 203,451				$ 203,451
University of Pennsylvania			B-P 167,739		B-P 108,798	B 106,875	B 103,982	B 98,800	$ 586,194
University of Pittsburgh							B-C 69,967	B-P 150,485 (2)	$ 220,452
University of Rochester								B 233,000	$ 233,000
University of South Carolina				B 172,000	B 132,736	B 96,612			$ 401,348
University of Southern California		B 200,000		B-C 126,695					$ 326,695
University of Tennessee						B 51,918			$ 51,918
University of Texas	B-C 250,000	B-C 150,000	B-C 175,000	B-P-C 174,000	P-C 157,581	B 180,998	B 184,944	B 119,671	$1,392,194
University of Utah				B 110,883	B 119,680				$ 230,563
University of Vermont								B-P-C 67,777	$ 67,777
University of Virginia		B 300,000	500*			B 85,146	B 72,045		$ 457,691
University of Washington	B 93,327		B 150,000	B-P 175,025	B-P 250,000				$ 668,352
University of Wisconsin	B 85,255	B 182,000	4,116*	P 128,604	B-P 60,000				$ 459,975
Vanderbilt University					B 148,159				$ 148,159
Washington University						B-C 205,168	B 62,325		$ 267,493
Yale University	P 149,800	P 160,000	B-P 295,051	B-P 228,000	B 400,000	B 425,000			$1,657,851

B - Bibliographic Control
P - Preservation
C - Collection Development

SUMMARY OF JOINT PROJECTS - FY 78 - 85

Amount of Grant	Grantee		Participating Institutions
FY 1978			
$250,000	Duke University	C	Univ. of N. C. at Chapel Hill N. C. State Univ., Raleigh
$200,000	Missouri Botanical Garden	B	New York Botanical Garden
$675,000	University of Calif., Berkeley	B	Stanford University • Univ. of Calif., Los Angeles
FY 1979			
$200,000	Missouri Botanical Garden	B	New York Botanical Garden
$750,000	University of Calif., Berkeley	B	Stanford University Univ. of Calif., Los Angeles
$350,000	University of Michigan	B	Michigan State University • Wayne State University
$300,000	University of Virginia	B	• University of Alabama Univ. of South Carolina Vanderbilt University
FY 1980			
$250,000	Duke University	C	Univ. of N. C. at Chapel Hill N. C. State Univ., Raleigh
$244,571	Missouri Botanical Garden	B	New York Botanical Garden
$995,781	University of Calif., Berkeley	B	Stanford University Univ. of Calif., Los Angeles
$406,000	University of Michigan	B	Michigan State University Wayne State University
FY 1981			
$647,816	New York Public Library	B-P	Columbia University New York University
$800,000	University of Florida	B	• Emory University • Florida State University • University of Georgia University of Kentucky • University of Miami University of Tennessee • Virginia Polytechnic Inst.
$300,000	University of Michigan	B	Michigan State University Wayne State University
FY 1982			
$225,042	New York Botanical Garden	B	Missouri Botanical Garden
$400,000	Yale University	B	Cornell University Stanford University
FY 1983			
$273,359	New York Botanical Garden	B	Missouri Botanical Garden
$378,459	University of Florida	B	Emory University Florida State University • Louisiana State University University of Alabama University of Georgia University of Kentucky University of Miami University of Tennessee Virginia Polytechnic Inst
$305,951	University of North Carolina	B	Duke University N. C. State Univ., Raleigh
$425,000	Yale University	B	Cornell University Stanford University
FY 1984			
$608,522	Indiana University	B	University of Arizona • Univ. of Calif., Riverside • University of Delaware University of Utah
$700,000	University of Florida	B	Emory University Florida State University • Georgia Institute of Technology Louisiana State University University of Alabama University of Georgia University of Kentucky University of Miami University of South Carolina University of Tennessee Vanderbilt University Virginia Polytechnic Inst.
$144,532	University of North Carolina	B	Duke University N. C. State Univ., Raleigh
FY 1985			
$233,000	University of Rochester	B	Indiana University Univ. of Calif., Berkeley

Total funding of joint projects for FY 78 - FY 85--- $10,278,033

Total number of institutions--grantees------------------------ 12

Total number of institutions--participants------------------ 30

Total number of participating institutions which have
also been grantees on their own---------------------------- 16

Twenty-two of the twenty-four joint projects (91%) supported bibliographic control efforts.

B - Bibliographic Control
P - Preservation
C - Collection Development

Mr. **Ford**. Thank you.
Nancy Kranich.

STATEMENT OF NANCY C. KRANICH, DIRECTOR, PUBLIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, ACCOMPANIED BY HAROLD B. SHILL, HEAD LIBRARIAN, WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

Ms. **Kranich**. Thank you, Chairman Ford.

Ladies and gentlemen, my name is Nancy Kranich. I am from New York University Library and I am here on behalf of the American Library Association. I am not going to mention all the programs we have talked about previously but I am going to focus most of my attention on title II(a) colleage library resources program.

As you know, that program was originally intended to assist in the maintenance and improvement of library collections in academic libraries, and over the many libraries and over the years many libraries did indeed benefit from that program. It has been estimated that at least half of our college libraries in this country do not even meet the minimum standards set by the American Library Association for colleges, so indeed many libraries, if not all libraries, are probably needy in the areas of collection development. We feel strongly that a revitalized II(a) program, based on need, could indeed benefit many of these libraries and help to bring them up to standard.

I don't think it is any secret, my colleagues have talked to you about the escalating cost of materials. Since 1967, books have cost 3½ times more and periodicals, farm periodicals and other kinds of periodicals, cost five times more than we were paying in 1967.

Furthermore, the explosion of information in many different kinds of formats have forced libraries to have to buy lots of materials they never had to buy before with budgets that are indeed not significant enough to even begin to buy the amount that they were buying in 1967.

As you mentioned, Chairman Ford, the Congress has been reluctant to continue to fund the II(a) program until we came up with some new criteria. To do that though, we had to come up with a working definition of what need meant. There have been attempts for about the last 10 years to begin to define what a so-called needy library was and indeed, you, with Congressman Coleman, came up with a bill last year and there was another bill submitted to this committee that did indeed try to define need.

While those criteria were very useful, they were not totally satisfactory to the profession, so you came back to us and asked us to try to work up some new criteria we felt confortable with. What we did was we went to the ARL legislation committee, which I am currently chair of, and thanks to our committee, we had some data to work from from the National Center for Education Statistics, and we began to list that data and work with the profession to identify new criteria that would be workable and fairly simple to administer.

We began by surveying the profession. We surveyed all the State libraries, all the Association of College and Research Library Committees, representatives of all the State chapters, and we did many articles in the literature to try to encourage people to input into what they thought would be reasonable and workable new criteria.

We then took the criteria that they suggested. We analyzed the criteria by running them against the profiles of the more than 3,000 academic libraries in the country to come up with what we thought were statistically valid criteria.

While the results of our study were not totally conclusive, we did find two criteria we thought were more descriptive than others. They were volumes for full time equivalence student and materials expenditures for full time equivalent students. These two criteria, I might add, were most commonly suggested by the library community.

They were also very similar to the committee's recommendations that were put forth last year. They were measurable and they were pretty consistently measured through every library in the country.

They also related strongly to the program's original intent and that is to build college library resources.

They also reflect two important aspects of a library's collection—its depth and its currency.

What we are asking the Department of Education to do if the program is put into effect is to compare libraries by type of institution and index them for size in order to come up with a range score to determine which are below the norm. Those that would be below the norm would be the ones that would then be funded.

The funding ranges would be from $2,000 to $10,000, as suggested in your bill last year, and it would be deemed by the full time enrollment range of each of these institutions.

Those libraries receiving title II(c) funds would be eligible for title II(a) funds.

In addition, we are recommending that libraries identify just how they intend to spend the funds so we have some working idea of how these moneys are used in the future.

The library community has widely endorsed our proposal. We have a resolution that is attached to my written testimony that was passed by the American Library Association last year. We have talked about the proposal widely in the literature and I think that there is not only endorsement but a great deal of enthusiasm about getting this program going again with these particular criteria.

I might add that this is the only federally funded program targeted for college libraries exclusively, and because so many college libraries are indeed needed, that we hope that you will recognize the value of this program and amend this part of the Higher Education Act to include the criteria we are suggesting.

Let me say a few more words about title II(b) training, research and development. We are very concerned about the training part of this program. As Dr. Churchwell mentioned, this program has been very effective in attracting minorities and women to the field of libraryship. In addition to attracting them, it has also provided lots of support for post-masters and doctoral type of research.

There has been a study recently of the impact of this program and what it found is that many of the people who have gotten fellowships under this program have become leaders in the field.

Many of them are teachers in library schools today or middle-or high-level administrators in libaries. It is critical that we have this kind of training and it is critical that we attract more minorities to the field. Believe it or not, in this field that we would not believe this could ever happen 5 years ago, we are now facing many shortages in the field of librarianship.

We are having great difficulty recruiting in certain specialized areas right now. There is a dearth of children librarians. We are having trouble finding trained preservation specialists, with particularly with expansion of preservation programs throughout the country. We cannot find enough people trained in various areas of technological developments and generally speaking, we are having trouble just recruiting across the board.

For the first time this eyar, there are more jobs listed with American Library Association Placement Center than there were applicants. The expansion of the advertisement for jobs in journals in the field and as well, the extention of job searches is another indicator of all of a sudden the tables are turned and there is now a shortage of trained people in this field.

I think that one of the reasons there is the shortage is because it is not a high paying field. It is difficult to get people to go into the field, particularly if they don't have funding to go to library school, they will not be able to repay loans. It is very critical that we have funding to attract good, qualified people that may not have the funds to go to library school.

We also need that money to help train people for once they are finished with library school, either in a post-masters program or some kind of continuing education program. Our field is changing so quickly it is very difficult to keep people up with the state of the art, particularly with technology changing as quickly as it is. So we strongly urge you to maintain and hopefully expand that training program so that we do have the kind of human resources we need to run the technologically advanced libraries that we also need.

That program also provides for research and development programs that have not been substantial over the years but they have been very helpful in demonstrating to the library profession and doing research in the library profession to lead the way in new areas. We have had tremendous accomplishments with very little funding in that program in the past and we certainly hope that you will continue to give us some research money. Again, it is the only program that is funded by the Federal Government that is specifically for library information science.

As far as title II(c) goes, I think there is widespread endorsement for that program. We strongly urge you to continue that program and hopefully expand the amount of funding available so more of the libraries in need of the program can be funded.

Title II(d), we are also quite interested in seeing funded and authorized. The current title II(d) is for a national periodicals program. We would urge that you replace that program with a program targeted for technological development in libraries. Last year, the Ford-Coleman bill included—the bill number 5210—included a part (d) that we are recommending be funded this year and that program was to authorize grants up to $15,000 to be used over a period of 3 years for technological development. Either individual libraries or in libraries working in combination with each other.

There is also a portion of that bill that would provide for demonstration grants in the technological area. We strongly need that area as well to develop because we do not have the kind of capitalization and investments that say industry would have in demonstrating the value of a new kind of technology.

Certainly if you authorize that program it will help small libraries underwrite the capitalization cost of investing in technology, which is often a barrier to get them involved in resource sharing programs, and further, it will share our efforts to develop a nationwide effort of libraries.

I will close by adding we are endorsing the title VI(a) program that has been proposed to earmark funds for foreign periodicals. The collection of foreign periodicals is not extensive enough in our academic libraries, particularly in the area of technology, and we hope that you will recognize the value of earmarking funds for that program so we will be assured that appropriate technical foreign periodicals are collected somewhere in this country.

In closing, I would like to thank the entire committee, and you, Chairman Ford, for your staunch support over the years for libraries. We greatly appreciate your enthusiasm as well as authority.

In addition, we would like to express our appreciation for your introduction of the House Joint Resolution 244, calling for a second White House conference, which would be established sometime before 1989. ALA this summer at their conference, passed a resolution thanking you for that, and we want to strongly encourage the Congress generally to enact enabling legislation for the new White House conference as early as possible.

On behalf of the American Library Association, I would like to thank you for letting me submit this testimony today and we would be happy to answer any questions, either you might have here or to submit additional information at another time.

Mr. **Ford**. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Nancy C. Kranich and Harold B. Shill follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF NANCY C. KRANICH, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

Chairman Ford, distinguished members of the Postsecondary Education Subcommittee, Ladies and Gentlemen:

My name is Nancy Kranich and I am Director of Public and Administrative Services at New York University Libraries. I am representing the American Library Association today in testimony on the Higher Education Act, Title II. Over the past few years, I have focused a considerable amount of attention on these federal programs as Chair of the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL) Legislation Committee. Of particular concern to my committee recently has been the College Library Resources Program (Title II-A), which has not received funds for three years. I will discuss this program in greater detail and then present the Association's concerns on Parts B and C, which we generally support as currently authorized. I will also propose a new Part D for technology, which would replace the Part D program for a national periodicals center added to the act when it was last reauthorized but never funded. Finally, I will mention another recommended program: Title VI for foreign periodicals acquisition, processing, preservation and dissemination.

HEA II-A. The original purpose of Title II-A was to provide grants to academic libraries to assist in the maintenance and improvement of their library collections, and to enable them to share resources and participate in library networks. While the program allotted only $890 per institution in FY 1983 — its last year of funding — it was authorized to expend up to $10,000 per applicant. Between its inception in 1966 and 1983, over 45,000 awards were granted, with an annual participation of 2,500 academic libraries, resulting in a cumulative contribution exceeding $196 million for acquisitions.

Many libraries have benefited greatly from this program. Those not currently meeting even the minimal standards for adequacy of library resources (estimated at half of all four-year college libraries in a recent analysis) could make significant progress toward upgrading their resources if funds were available once again. As book prices have increased, college and university libraries have found it more difficult to purchase all the materials they need. According to Halstead's 1983 Inflation Measures for Schools and Colleges, U.S. hard cover books are 3 1/2 times more expensive, and U.S. periodicals and foreign books about 5 times more expensive than they were in 1967.

HEA II-A funding is desperately needed by many academic libraries to increase their resources and meet their students' needs. A renewed HEA II-A program could also provide the necessary impetus for institutions to raise their support for campus libraries, particularly those 10% that failed to meet the maintenance-of-effort requirement when applying for HEA II-A monies during the last funding cycle.

Reluctance to continue to fund HEA II-A has stemmed from a belief that the program must be "need" based rather than an entitlement. Yet, no good working definition of need was forthcoming. After a discussion of need criteria at the 1979 HEA reauthorization hearings, numerous proposals emerged recommending criteria that could be applied to academic libraries competing for assistance. But until last year, no proposals were widely endorsed by the profession.

In 1984, two bills were introduced into Congress that suggested need criteria for Title II-A. Because none of these sets of criteria was totally satisfactory to academic librarians, the Congress asked the library community to propose appropriate measures of need.

With an extensive historical picture of previous HEA II-A proposals and guidance from the Postsecondary Education Subcommittee, the ACRL Legislation Committee set forth to develop a set of need criteria that would be credible, reflective of the program's objectives, and widely supported by the profession. In addition, the committee carefully considered what would be a reasonable role for the Federal government to play in aiding college libraries. The subsequent quantitative analysis followed extensive communications with the profession.

Last summer, state librarians, ACRL section heads, and ACRL chapter heads were sent letters requesting them to suggest criteria and a working definition of need. Several other key library leaders were asked to submit confidentially a list of academic libraries in their states that they considered "needy" with an explanation as to why. Then all the so-called needy libraries were analyzed in relation to all other similar libraries by each criterion suggested. A type of discriminate analysis was used to see if any factors consistently described needy libraries.

While the results were not conclusive, the criteria chosen (volumes per capita and materials expenditures per capita) appeared to be more descriptive than others. These criteria were also the ones most commonly suggested by those who responded to the committee's request. In addition, they were very similar to (though more easily measured than) others suggested by the subcommittee last year, and they were related to the program's intent. Furthermore, they reflected two important aspects of an institution's collection — its depth and its currency. Indexed for size and compared by type of institution, like libraries would be scored relative to each other for depth of collection and current effort. Although no single factor has been demonstrated to be a perfect measure, the library profession generally finds these criteria agreeable given the parameters previously mentioned.

The results of the analysis and recommendations for program amendments were reviewed by the profession last winter and widely endorsed. They were submitted to the House Postsecondary Subcommittee by the American Library Association in April.

The proposed need criteria and changes to the II-A program were presented as follows:

> Funding should be available to those libraries which rank below the norm when scored for both "materials expenditures/FTE student" and "volumes held/FTE student." Libraries would be compared to like institutions according to the classification designated by HEGIS -- 2 year, 4 year, university, etc.
>
> The maintenance of effort provision in relation to materials expenditures must be assured in current law, but amended sightly to allow applicants to provide assurance based on expenditures, reducing the incidence of waiver requests "after-the-fact." Applicants would also supply information based on the institutional fiscal year rather than the federal fiscal year.
>
> A graduated amount between $2,000 and $10,000 would be awarded to needy libraries annually, based on an institution's FTE enrollment range. For instance, grants might be awarded in amounts of $2,000, $4,000, $8,000, and $10,000, based on five enrollment ranges. Insufficient appropriations would result, not in smaller grants, but in fewer grants to the most needy institutions.
>
> Definitions of materials expenditures, volumes, institutions, and enrollment would be based on those used by the National Center for Educational Statistics for HEGIS reports, in order to avoid additional paperwork for applicants.
>
> Libraries would be expected to designate how they plan to use the funds on the grant application forms and to report on their use after the grant period in conjunction with their final financial reports.
>
> Research libraries receiving support from the HEA II-C program would be ineligible for II-A funds in that fiscal year, as under law.
>
> An appropriate organization would evaluate the effectiveness of the program after two years.

While the criteria suggested may not satisfy everyone's definition of a needy library, they are relevant to the purpose of the program (expanding college library resources) and they constitute statistically valid tests of need. The library community has rallied behind the proposal and is committed to re-establishing the HEA II-A program and getting it funded in the future. Because it is the only federal program that assists college libraries exclusively and because so many college libraries are truly needy, it is crucial that Congress recognize the value of supporting reauthorization and amendment of Title II-A along with all other programs included in the Higher Education Act.

HEA II-B. The Title II-B program, which is designated for training and for research and development projects, has played a major role in attracting minorities to the profession of librarianship and in stimulating innovation, particularly in the adaptation of new technologies.

The training component increases opportunities for members of underrepresented groups to enter the library profession and to advance professionally. In the last decade, over 1,500 persons, including many women and minorities, have been recipients of HEA II-B fellowships.

An historical survey of these II-B fellowships has just been completed by Dr. Mildred Lowe for the Department of Education. The study concentrated on the records of doctoral and post-master's recipients, and shows a strong record of achievement. Large numbers of these recipients are deans and senior faculty in graduate library schools or hold middle to upper level administrative positions in libraries, and have published and have been active in professional organizations.

The training component section of Title II-B also prepares librarians to work more responsively with the underserved and develop viable alternatives to traditional library service patterns. Ten years ago, when many trained librarians were unable to locate jobs, $2.8 million was appropriated for this component alone. Today, when more jobs than applicants are registered with ALA's Placement Services, only $600,000 is allotted for training purposes.

Since the early 1970 s the II-B training program has concentrated on recruitment of minorities to librarianship. Of the 1,468 fellowships funded during FY 1973-84, 1,032 or over 70 percent were awarded to minorities. The need is still great since a recent survey showed that professional staffing in libraries is only 5.8 percent Black, 4 percent Asian, 1.8 percent Hispanic, and 0.2 percent Native American.

Several characteristics of librarianship make it difficult to recruit minority students. Sources of financial assistance typical of other fields—such as large-scale research projects or undergraduate labs or classes led by teaching assistants—are rare in library science. The pay level in librarianship is relatively low compared to other professions which have comparable educational requirements.
The National Commission on Student Financial Assistance recent report on graduate education recommended that the "Library Career Training program should be extended to support advanced study in modern information technology such as computers, library networking, and the preservation of older library materials." The Commission also recommended a substantial increase in funds.

The only coordinated program of research in library and information science is also funded by HEA II-B. This program has made an impact in two important areas: the development of innovative methods used in extending service to underserved groups, and the adaptation of newer information and communications technologies to library operations. R&D in these areas remains critical — because of the rapid convergence between library science and computer and information science, and the need to maintain and improve the library as a self-help institution. Like the training of young people for a profession, funding for research in library and information science is an investment in the future of the library and in its ability to use technology to improve service to our information society.

HEA II-C. The HEA II-C program has been highly successful in strengthening the resources of research libraries. While the program is well directed, its funds have not been sufficient to award grants to more than a third of the qualified applicants. In a report on graduate education, Signs of Trouble and Erosion, directed by NYU's President and your former colleague John Brademas, the National Commission on Student Financial Assistance concluded:

> Independent scholarship at the graduate level is impossible without first-rate, up-to-date library collections. Equally important, many of these collections are unique and irreplaceable...
>
> But like everything else, the cost of books and library services has been going up in recent years. Libraries are hard pressed to provide the public and scholars access to their collections and, in the face of an explosion of published knowledge, to maintain current collections.

Some of the pressures with which university research collections must contend include the following:

- Although expenditures for library materials rose by 91 percent in the 1970s, enormous cost increases forced a reduction of 20 percent in growth of new volumes.

- Expenditures for salaries and wages more than doubled in the same period, although staff size increased only 11 percent.
- Far from preserving these collections for future generations, we are permitting them to deteriorate on the shelves. Acids used in paper since about 1850 are literally destroying irreplaceable collections.

A recent review and evaluation prepared for the Department of Education noted that II-C "has given the nation tens of thousands of unique titles acquired for scholarly investigation, thousands of fragile and irreplaceable volumes preserved for long term use, and hundreds of thousands of bibliographic records linked through online data files, in a format which will enable individual research scholars to locate items not held at the local research library."

HEA II-D. ALA is recommending the replacement of the current Part D, National Periodical System, which was never funded, with a new Part D for College Library Technology and Cooperation Grants. This proposal follows the Part D program proposed last year in HR 5210 by Representatives Ford and Coleman, and was based on a recommendation by the American Council on Education. This program would provide competitive grants of at least $15,000 for up to three years, which would have a one-third matching requirement, and would be made to:

(1) Institutions of higher education which demonstrate a need for special assistance for the planning, development, acquisition, installation, maintenance, or replacement of technological equipment (including computer hardware and software) necessary to participate in networks for sharing of library resources.

(2) Combinations of higher education institutions which

demonstrate a need for special assistance in establishing and strengthening joint-use library facilities, resources or equipment.

(3) Other public and private non-profit organizations which provide library and information services to higher education institutions on a formal, cooperative basis for the purpose of establishing, developing, or expanding programs or projects that improve their services to higher education institutions.

(4) Institutions of higher education conducting research or demonstration projects to meet special national or regional needs in utilizing technology to enhance library or information sciences.

The recommendation recognizes that capitalization costs have posed a significant barrier to the full utilization of technological developments by academic libraries. This program will further the goal of developing a nationwide network of information resources in support of scholarship.

The difficulties academic libraries face in becoming technologically up-to-date, and the reason ALA recommends adding planning and development to HR 5210's eligible uses of funds, are highlighted by two brief excerpts from 1984 ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Research Report from the Association for the Study of Higher Education, Academic Libraries: The Changing Knowledge Centers of Colleges and Universities, by Barbara B. Moran:

> To date, the number of libraries that are in the process of building an "information age" library is still small. Most have not yet taken the initial steps, and many have not yet even begun the hard task of planning for change. But long-range planning, especially planning to meet the costs of technological change, is essential if technology is to be successfully integrated into the library. Libraries and their supporting institutions must make plans for an expensive transformation at a time when funds are already limited and when many other demands are competing for them. (p.27)
>
> Some libraries, especially those in small liberal arts colleges, may not have the chance to see what automation might be able to do for their operating costs because they are not likely to have

> the money to invest in full-scale library automation. The libraries at such institutions will shoulder a disproportionate share of the budget cuts because expenditures for library materials are easier to cut than people. The relative unavailability of capital funds means that many institutions will not be able to adopt labor-saving library technology. The best chance for smaller libraries to automate will come through the use of affordable microcomputers. (p.39)

HEA VI-A. We are recommending an amendment to Title VI, International Education Programs, to create a separate program for the acquisition and sharing of periodicals published outside the United States. This program would support the purpose of Title VI by strengthening library resources in foreign languages. Although this function has been permitted under the existing law, the percent of total grants used for this purpose has declined from 21.2% in 1973-74 to 15.9% in 1981-82. As funds have fallen, the cost of maintaining library periodical collections has risen. Furthermore, this decline threatens research and technological development that depends heavily on foreign materials, because delayed acquisition of these materials is often impossible due to small print runs. As an example of the critical importance of foreign journals, consider the problem of the dearth of timely technical materials from such countries as Japan, at a time when our computer scientists need more information on the state of computer science and technology there. Very few of our libraries collect materials in Japanese outside of the humanities, so that even the major computer science journal published in Japan is collected only by the Library of Congress.

The limited funds available previously through the Title VI program have not been sufficient to improve significantly the acquisition of foreign periodicals. While other sections of HEA might be applied toward this purpose, the competition for funds is great. A special program would assure the modest amount of funds necessary to acquire many of the key publications printed outside this country. A reliable and consistent funding source is needed if libraries are to avoid serious omissions in the holdings of their most essential foreign periodical collections.

In closing, I would like to thank Chairman Ford and the Subcommittee members for your staunch support and encouragement during a period of austerity. You have not only been a friend of libraries, but also a stalwart champion of the important mission libraries play in the learning and research processes. The contributions the federal government has made to academic libraries over the years have been relatively small in terms of dollars. But the impact upon the development, availability, and preservation of essential information resources has been substantial. Without the partnership of our institutions of higher education and the government, we could not have offered such widespread benefits as the development of a nationwide network of libraries that are free and open to all the citizens of this country. We greatly appreciate your role in assuring these services to the public and look forward to working with you in improving national library programs that have developed over the past 20 years and that will continue to serve the ever-increasing needs of an information society.

I would also like to express ALA's deep appreciation to Chairman Ford for introducing H.J. Res. 244, calling for a second White House Conference on Library and Information Services no later than 1989. ALA passed a resolution July 10 thanking Representative Ford for his leadership. ALA believes the White House Conference is necessary to build public awareness of the precarious state of American library service today and to facilitate informed, grassroots policymaking concerning the future of all types of libraries. We strongly recommend enactment of enabling legislation at the earliest possible date.

On behalf of the American Library Association, I would like to thank you for this opportunity to appear before the Subcommittee today and urge you to extend the Higher Education Act, with the modifications discussed in this testimony.

RESOLUTION ON HIGHER EDUCATION ACT REAUTHORIZATION

WHEREAS, The Higher Education Act is due for reauthorization in the 99th Congress; and

WHEREAS, In "A Nation at Risk," libraries, including college and research libraries, are essential to the attainment of excellence in education and a learning society; and

WHEREAS, The American Library Association has had a long standing commitment to attaining excellence in education by supporting federal programs such as the Higher Education Act, particularly title II which funds programs for college and research libraries and for training and research; and

WHEREAS, The Higher Education Act has benefitted libraries substantially by supporting acquisitions, training, research and demonstration programs, preservation activity, resource sharing, strengthening unique collections, bibliographic control, and technological development; and

WHEREAS, College and research libraries continue to face increased pressures to serve all citizens and to provide more information resources in both traditional and new formats which cost far more than their budgets can afford; and

WHEREAS, In order to provide collections suitable to support the curriculum and research programs in higher education, many academic libraries should be targeted for supplemental federal funds on the basis of need criteria being developed and recommended by the library profession; and

WHEREAS, New technologies require continuous training for librarians, minority recruitment is crucial, and research and demonstration projects can have a significant impact on library productivity and resource sharing; and

WHEREAS, Unique resources must continue to be strengthened, preserved, and made available for national and international research; and

WHEREAS, Academic libraries must adapt new technologies in order to assure users access to textual and bibliographic databases and must cooperate to promote access to information through resource sharing, but are often unable to afford startup costs; and

WHEREAS, Other programs included in the Higher Education Act can benefit from and contribute to strong library programs and services; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Congress strengthen academic libraries which are integral to the information infrastructure of our nation's educational and research programs by extending and amending the Higher Education Act; and, be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That Congress fund all Higher Education Act title II programs at the authorized levels so that libraries can provide the materials and services needed to support an information society.

Adopted by the Council of the
American Library Association
Washington, D.C.
January 9, 1985
(Council Document #28.2)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HAROLD B. SHILL, PH.D., WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

My name is Harold Shill. I am Head Librarian at the Evansdale Library, West Virginia University in Morgantown. I am representing the American Library Association today in testimony on Title II of the Higher Education Act.

During recent years I have worked extensively on the development of "need criteria" for Title II-A as a member of the Legislation Committee of the Association of College and Research Libraries. I have also devoted much attention to the entire range of Federal programs and regulations affecting academic, public and school libraries as Federal Relations Coordinator for the West Virginia Library Association.

My testimony will focus on changes in the academic library environment since the Higher Education Act was enacted in 1965, the importance of Federal programs to those developments, problems and opportunities facing academic libraries as we move rapidly into the "information age," and the importance of the revised versions of Titles II-A and II-D for the continued vitality of academic libraries in an era of constant change. I support the American Library Association position on Titles II-B, II-C and VI-A, but my statement will concentrate on II-A and II-D.

Background and Federal Role

Higher education, scholarly publication and academic libraries were very different enterprises when the Higher Education Act was first authorized and funded in 1965. Student bodies were much smaller, far fewer books and periodicals were published, the cost of books and journals was much lower, the print format was the unchallenged medium of scholarly communication, 4 x 6 index cards were still used heavily by researchers, the card catalog and the periodical index were the primary tools for identifying relevant publications, microfilm was the most significant new storage technology, and libraries were expected to be reasonably self-sufficient repositories of knowledge for their users. The World War II research partnership between the Federal government and the universities was accepted as a permanent, knowledge-generating investment in the national interest. Academic libraries were perceived as an essential support for that partnership and for the national effort to provide a college education to all who qualified. There was little hint, however, of the technological and publication explosions which have so fundamentally transformed academic libraries since that time.

Few sectors of American life have not been influenced by the twin revolutions in computers and telecommunications, and the effect upon academic libraries has been profound. Starting in the early 1970s, libraries began storing and retrieving cataloging data from the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) in Columbus, Ohio, and several other large "bibliographic utilities." Participating libraries would call up the full catalog card record for a newly-received book on a CRT terminal, make any modifications needed for local use, transmit an instant "print" request over dedicated telephone lines to the OCLC mainframe computer, and receive the completed catalog cards in the mail a few days later. At West Virginia University we now receive 98 percent of our cataloging from OCLC. This system has eliminated processing backlogs of 6 months or more, thereby enabling libraries to get books on the shelf almost immediately after receipt and giving researchers rapid access to the latest publications.

The OCLC database, which now contains approximately 12 million separate bibliographic records, also enables libraries to identify another library which has a book not available locally and transmit an instant, electronic request to borrow that book. As a result, researchers have ready access to most of mankind's recorded knowledge and are increasingly taking full advantage of this capability through interlibrary loan and document delivery services.

A second development which has revolutionized service in academic libraries is the introduction of online databases. Several major vendors, including the National Library of Medicine, provide access to more than 2,400 bibliographic, numeric, full-text and ready reference databases. Some of the databases duplicate publications available in printed format. Others, such as the business databases ABI/INFORM and MANAGEMENT CONTENTS, are available in electronic form only. Academic libraries began providing access to these databases, usually on a cost-recovery basis, in the mid-1970s, and demand has increased geometrically since that time. At the University of Tennessee, for example, the number of database searches conducted by library staff increased from 88 in 1975 to 524 in 1979 to 1,696 in 1983. Cost and staffing limitations are the only factors holding database searching volume to this level in most institutions.

A third major development since 1965 has been the online public access catalog. Online catalogs expedite access to newly-received materials by eliminating the time needed for filing 3 to 8 cards per title manually in a conventional card catalog. They also permit faculty members and students at terminals elsewhere on campus to determine the library's holdings, see whether a needed item is in circulation, and transmit a request for that item to the library. In addition, researchers can perform sophisticated searches not possible in a card catalog and have the citations they retrieve printed for later use. Though only about 200 of the nation's 3,300 academic libraries have an online card catalog at present, most are now converting their holdings records into machine-readable form to facilitate creation of an online catalog in the near future. The online catalog provides enormous economies of effort for researchers and library staff alike. The major obstacle to implementation is cost.

In addition to these technological changes, academic libraries have undergone a substantial change in philosophy and service structure since 1965. One major expression of that change has been the spread of bibliographic instruction, or user education, programs. While libraries have always given tours, frequently in conjunction with freshman English classes, the concept that students should develop information-retrieval competencies relevant to their professional interests has gained wide acceptance in the past decade. During the 1984-85 academic year, librarians in the Evansdale Library provided in-depth instruction for all freshman Engineering and sophomore Curriculum & Instruction students at West Virginia University. It is our belief that this type of instruction will produce more competent engineers and contribute to excellence in education, since the instruction is designed to be useful in one's career as well as in college. Research on the long-term effects of bibliographic instruction confirms that it does indeed provide lasting benefits to the recipient.

Many college and university libraries have accepted a social responsibility extending beyond the immediate needs of their students and faculty members. Central Michigan University and the West Virginia College of Graduate Studies deliver library materials to students taking extension courses at remote sites, thereby providing the benefits of a college library to students who are unable to come to the campus. Most academic libraries permit access to their resources by local citizens, businesses and government officials. Any citizen of West Virginia can have full access to state-supported academic libraries by presenting a Statewide Borrower's Card, available under a program established by the West Virginia Library Commission. Some college and university libraries have negotiated arrangements with local industries to help meet their technical information requirements. Many university libraries provide immediate patient care information to doctors treating patients with unusual symptoms.

Finally, most academic libraries have recognized that they are points of access to the larger body of human knowledge, rejecting the old concept that a library is essentially a "warehouse." Documents not available in the local library can be secured in 3-5 days through commercial delivery services. Books and articles requested from other libraries through the OCLC Interlibrary Loan Sub-System do not take much longer. The ability to identify and deliver rapidly materials not found in the local library has been a great enhancement for scholarship and research. Libraries are increasingly allocating scarce resources to document delivery services, recognizing that computer networks have made possible a fundamental alteration in the breadth of access libraries can provide.

A supportive Federal government has been essential to both the technological and role changes experienced by academic libraries in the past 20 years. The Machine-Readable Cataloging (MARC) project at the Library of Congress, begun in 1965, has provided a major portion of the cataloging records included in the databases of OCLC and other bibliographic utilities. The National Library of Medicine developed the searching language used for its own databases, which have profoundly affected medical education and health care delivery in the United States. Searching language developed by NLM and NASA have served as prototypes for the online industry. The National Agricultural Library mounts two major databases, AGRICOLA and CRIS

(Current Research Information Service), which are essential to all agricultural research in the United States today. All three "national" libraries engage in research and development projects, including laser disk and optical character recognition technology, which promise enormous benefits for libraries, private vendors, researchers and others engaged in the development and dissemination of knowledge.

Two very significant pieces of legislation, Title III of the Library Services and Construction Act, and the postal revenue forgone subsidy, have greatly enhanced access to knowledge through libraries. The Library Services and Construction Act has provided funding for the development of resource-sharing networks, thereby enabling libraries to provide regional and nationwide access without diverting monies from local collection development or services. The postal revenue forgone subsidy permits the exchange of materials between libraries or their mailing directly to disabled, aged, blind and other patrons without cutting into the book budget excessively.

Shared cataloging through bibliographic utilities, database searching, and interlibrary loan services in turn are affected profoundly by telecommunications rates. Requests for sharply increased private line tariffs following the AT&T divestiture have been opposed vigorously by the library community, since higher rates would jeopardize the new linkages between computers owned by libraries, bibliographic utilities and database vendors. The Federal Communications Commission did sharply reduce the private line rate increase approved for AT&T earlier this year as a result of library protests.

Although other Federal actions also have a significant impact upon academic libraries, the Higher Education Act is the only national legislation which specifically addresses their needs. In order to fully appreciate the need for reauthorization of the library programs in the Higher Education Act, it is necessary to consider briefly the technological and economic developments which will influence the evolution of academic libraries in the next few years.

Academic Libraries: the Near Future

Libraries are part of a larger environment including higher education, the publishing industry, information technology, and politics. The future of academic libraries depends heavily on the direction of developments in these sectors.

Higher education has responded to the demographic decline of the conventional college-age group by curricular adjustment and recruitment of non-traditional students. It has responded to reductions in governmental support for research by forging partnerships with private industry. It has continued to provide direct service to society through agricultural and engineering extension programs, business research institutes, applied research, and consultation. Simultaneously, institutions with adequate funding have sought to enhance the communication capabilities of their faculty and students by "wiring" the campus and creating work stations with access to the computer center, outside computing facilities, and other faculty members and students within the institution. New programs in such areas as computer engineering, biotechnology, CAD/CAM, robotics, artificial intelligence, gerontology, and environmental sciences are also being created to meet societal needs.

The term "information explosion" is often used to describe the vast increase in publishing output and format in recent years. The number of books published annually has increased 48 percent since 1970. The number of periodicals has increased comparably over the same time period. The cost of the average hardcover book has risen from $8.77 to $31.19 between 1969 and 1983, while the average subscription cost for a periodical rose from $9.31 to $50.23 over the same interval. Very few academic libraries were able to keep up with these respective 255 percent and 440 percent increases, and the number of titles acquired declined approximately 20 percent while the volume of publication increased. As a result, academic libraries acquired a steadily shrinking portion of the relevant literature during the 1970s and early 1980s.

At the same time, publications have appeared increasingly in unconventional formats. Many libraries have developed large collections of educational documents and technical reports, many of them the result of Federal programs, in microfiche. Microfiche readers and reader-printers have been acquired to permit use of these documents. Many indexes, reference books, encyclopedias and journals are now published in both print and machine-readable formats, including the HARVARD BUSINESS REVIEW and the 16 journals published by the American Chemical Society. Some bibliographic databases, the online equivalent of periodical indexes, have been published in electronic form only and never will appear in print. Wilfrid Lancaster, one of the leading students of the technological revolution in libraries, estimates that 25 percent of our current reference books will be available in electronic form only by 1990, and 50 percent of existing periodical indexes and abstracting services will be accessible only via computer terminal by 2000. He also predicts that 50 percent of all new technical reports will be available only in electronic form by 1995.

Libraries have taken advantage of the advances in information technology to offer a broad range of new services. In many libraries, patrons have been taught to do their own "end-user" searches of online databases with microcomputers located inside the library. In others, faculty research interest profiles have been loaded into computers and are run against new loadings of a database each month, thereby exposing scholars to relevant articles in hundreds of journals with each update and increasing their literature searching efficiency exponentially. Some libraries, such as Old Dominion University, have purchased tapes of certain high-demand databases and use them to create customized databases for faculty members. Still other libraries are working closely with university administrations to develop institution-wide information databases. Some libraries, such as the University of Delaware, use computer-assisted instruction to give basic library skills orientation to all incoming freshmen, with the reference librarians concentrating on more specialized instruction to students in their academic major areas. Online card catalogs can be accessed from computer terminals in other states as well as on campus.

The academic library environment has changed radically in the past 20 years, and will change even more in the near future. New technologies have permitted an array of services which would have seemed inconceivable when the Higher Education Act was enacted. A new philosophy of librarianship has stressed computerized literature access and information skills training in addition to collection development. The major obstacles to continued acceleration of this development are economic -- rising postal and telecommunications costs, increased costs for library materials, declining institutional revenues, and capital costs for hardware and software -- rather than technological.

Higher Education Act: Title II-A

Few libraries have been able to keep pace with the increasing cost of library materials, not to mention the increasing numbers of books and journals published each year. At my own institution, West Virginia University, the book budget rose 218 percent between 1969 and 1983, while book and periodical prices escalated 255 percent and 440 percent, respectively. During the same period, the proportion of the materials budget spent on periodicals has risen from less than 50 percent to almost 80 percent. The consequences for higher education of these trends have been noted in the report of the National Enquiry on Scholarly Communication:

> Although libraries have been growing at exponential rates in recent decades, the rapid growth in cost and volume of publications means that each library is becoming increasingly less able to satisfy the research and educational needs of its users. (Scholarly Communication: The Report of the National Enquiry, p. 20.)

This loss of buying power adversely affects institutions of all sizes. For community colleges, it may reduce their ability to develop programs supporting new collection needs, such as literature in electronics technology. In four-year institutions, reductions in collection breadth will affect the quality of education provided for undergraduates. In universities, an inadequate collections budget will both penalize students and faculty in traditional areas of inquiry and inhibit development of strong collections in new areas of curricular and research emphases.

The nation has an interest in high-quality research and education, both graduate and undergraduate, from its colleges and universities. Without strong library collections, research, instruction and service will suffer. Title II-A offers a vehicle through which the neediest institutions can address collection deficiencies, thereby improving the overall quality of instruction and research, while avoiding too heavy a reliance on the resources of other institutions. Needy institutions generally have little opportunity to build strong collections even for undergraduate instruction, given declining enrollments, rising materials costs and the "information explosion." Further assistance is needed if students at these institutions are to get a sound preparation for life after graduation.

I have been very much involved in the development of need criteria for Title II-A during the past two years. I became particularly concerned that one proposed need criterion, that libraries receiving less than 2.8 percent of the educational and general budget of the institution be defined as "needy," would be insensitive to real need. This concern began when I discovered that none of the 15 state-supported institutions in West Virginia, a state with the highest unemployment rate in the country and a recent history of cutbacks in higher education, would qualify as "needy" using this definition of need. Comparison with several other states indicated that this criterion would be biased in favor of larger, more complex institutions where library expenditures might be adequate but would comprise a smaller percentage of overall expenditures.

Following this discovery, I undertook a comprehensive examination of academic library expenditures in five States -- West Virginia, Mississippi, Connecticut, Arizona and North Carolina -- to see whether a more sensitive criterion could be found. I finally determined that three variables -- library expenditures per student, volumes per student, and periodical subscriptions per student -- might successfully distinguish "needy" from less-needy institutions. Assigning scale scores for various rankings on these variables, I found that these criteria did indeed exclude institutions known to be affluent and include those known to be needy. These criteria appeared to reflect need regardless of size. It also avoided the problem of "loading" too heavily on one variable, since volumes per student is a measure of long-term development while expenditures per student is a measure of current effort. Some combination of past and present measures appeared desirable for developing a truly sensitive indicator of need.

This recommendation was presented to the ACRL Legislation Committee at the 1984 Annual Conference of the American Library Association in Dallas, Texas. While it was agreed that a volumes/expenditures criterion appeared viable, it was felt by the committee that broad, systematic input from the academic library community should be received. Such input was received through a letter to library leaders across the country from Nancy Kranich, Chair of the ACRL Legislation Committee. HEGIS tapes containing library data from most higher education institutions in the country were then run at New York University to determine which criteria, among many proposed, would most accurately identify a needy library. Analysis of the results indicated that a combination of volumes per student and expenditures per student would best identify a needy library. The third variable in my proposal, subscriptions per student, was dropped as a result of this statistical analysis.

I am convinced that the input received from the library community, the statistical analysis of HEGIS data and my analysis of the impact of different variables provide a sound basis for the identification of appropriate need criteria, and I believe such criteria are presented in the ALA/ARL proposal.

Higher Education Act: Title II-D

While adequate collections remain essential for successful education and research, academic libraries must also make significant investments in computer technology to participate fully in the information age. As the National Enquiry on Scholarly Communication has noted:

> The next decade will usher in many changes in the services available from libraries and in the methods of library use. Most of these changes will accelerate the trend away from each library being a self-contained unit, toward a system in which the library will be a service center, capable of linking users to national bibliographic files and distant collections. (Scholarly Communication: The Report of the National Enquiry, p. 159.)

There is a real danger that many institutions will not be able to afford the start-up costs necessary to participate in OCLC and other library networks, provide searches of online databases, develop an online catalog, or make other vital investments in information technology. Institutions unable to make such commitments will find their students deprived of access to national databases, access to materials available in electronic form only, and experiences essential to success in a learning society. Researchers at such institutions will operate at an insurmountable disadvantage in comparison to colleagues who utilize the new information technologies, and effective teachers will be given an incentive to move to institutions where they can give state-of-the-art instruction to their students.

New technologies are costly. Institutions unable to invest in them will find themselves slipping inexorably into a lower echelon where the quality of instruction and research will decline continually. Higher education will become dramatically segregated into "information-rich" and "information poor" institutions.

The nation has an interest in high-quality instruction and research in institutions of higher education. Title II-D, as modified in the ALA/ARL proposal, would provide a means for institutions to expose their students and faculty members to the opportunities provided by new information technologies. In order to preserve the diversity in quality educational opportunity which now exists, it is essential that funding be made available to enable academic libraries to advance into the "information age." Failure to do so will create a two-tiered system of higher education, thereby placing graduates of lower-echelon institutions at a real competitive disadvantage with their peers from better-funded institutions.

Conclusion

Academic libraries today are both repositories of knowledge and nodes providing access to virtually all recorded human knowledge. They are essential support services for institutions which educate our leaders, perform pure and applied research for the benefit of society, and deliver many services to our citizens. Effective academic libraries, utilizing the new information technologies available, can help produce a more information-competent graduate, greatly expedite the research process, and aid in the delivery of services to the general public.

The nation's academic libraries have provided, and will continue to provide, essential informational services for higher education and the general community. With adequate funding, they will continue to provide both strong collections responsive to changing societal needs and access to the larger world of human knowledge through computer technology. Titles II-A and II-D with the proposed revisions provide means for ensuring that both of these functions will continue to be performed. I hope that you will include the ALA and ARL recommendations in a reauthorized Higher Education Act.

Thank you.

Mr. FORD. Nancy Hubers.

STATEMENT OF NANCY HUBERS, VICE CHAIR, BOARD OF TRUSTEES, CATONSVILLE COMMUNITY COLLEGE, ACCOMPANIED BY PHILLIP C. ENGLISH, DIRECTOR, TELEPRODUCTIONS AND MEDIA SERVICES

Ms. HUBERS. Mr. Chairman, members of the subcommittee, my name is Nancy Hubers, and I am vice chair of the Board of Tustrees of Catonsville Community College, Dundalk Community College and Essex Community College. With me today is Phillip C. English, director of Teleproduction and Media Services at Catonsville Community College. We are here today on behalf of the Association of Community College Trustees and the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges.

I am pleased to have the opportunity to testify on reauthorization of title II of the Higher Education Act. Title II provides authorization for money for college research library assistance and library training and research.

We recommend the reauthorization of part (a), college library resource development grants.

Part (b), college library training research and development.

And part (c), strengthening of research library resources.

We recommend replacing part (d)—the periodical system, has never been funded—with the new part (d) entitled, "college learning technology and cooperation grants."

Community colleges are deeply concerned about title II of the Higher Education Act because access and opportunity are the backbones of the community college philosophy. Community college libraries have traditionally been one of the main resources for access to knowledge and they must continue in that role in the future.

Modern libraries house not only books but also video tapes, television production equipment, computer software packages, that provide services to students, professors, business and industry and the local community.

The three community colleges in Baltimore County, MD, are typical of community colleges nationally. They serve a diverse population with a wide variety of learning needs. As an example, at Catonsville Community College, the average age of our students is over 27. Eight percent of these students are employed while attending college and 63 percent are women. Sixty percent of graduates continue their education beyond the associate degree. These students are learning new skills and upgrading old ones.

Besides the main campus, the students can attend college at branch campuses, at extension centers, at the workplace, and at home via the television. Special facilities are available for visually handicapped and hearing impaired people. Our learning resources center is called the library media and television center. Learning technologies are an essential part of the efforts in that center. The center has been innovative and resourceful in acquiring and using technologies, but needs to be able to do more.

As an example, the print part of the center subscribes to a data base utility called Dialogue. Dialogue provides access to over 200 data bases, including many of the most commonly used indexes for academic research. This resource allows the center to provide traditional library services to many students effectively and efficiently.

With the additional equipment like modems, disc drives, computer terminals, and appropriate software packages, the center could exponentially expand the knowledge and information available to our clientele.

In the media services section of the center, the college uses cable television to deliver instructional material, including complete courses, for students at home. Last year over 6,000 students in Maryland took college credits via television. Our colleges are among the leaders in the use of this new technology. The colleges have also applied for instructional television fixed service systems and computers which will allow delivery of courses to learning centers that are not now currently served.

We need to be able to acquire this type of technology to expand our information delivery network. One example of a new learning technology is the video disc. This, coupled with microcomputers, can store an enormous capacity of printed, verbal, and audio information. As an example, the entire cyclopedia can be stored on a single video disc and any of the information can be retrieved in 2 seconds or less.

We have a strong relationship at our colleges with military and industrial users, training their personnel. Video discs is an important tool in this training and we need to be able to make full use of this technology to meet the needs of this important segment of our constituency.

The suggested new part D, college learning technology and cooperation grants will be of great assistance to community colleges nationally. These institutions would utilize the grants to develop or expand programs or projects to serve the communities in which the institutions are located and the constituencies which they serve.

Libraries are important to the future of postsecondary education, but Baltimore County community colleges, like most community colleges in the Nation, are unable to keep up with the rapidly changing technology. The majority of the existing budgets are aimed at maintaining current systems and even that is difficult at times. The need for colleges to move into the new technologies in library and media services is very, very crucial.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify on behalf of the community colleges. I have with me Mr. English, and we can answer some questions if you might like.

[The prepared statement of Nancy Hubers follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF NANCY HUBERS, VICE CHAIR OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES, CATONSVILLE COMMUNITY COLLEGE, BALTIMORE, MD, ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY AND JUNIOR COLLEGES AND THE ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY COLLEGE TRUSTEES

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Subcommittee, my name is Nancy Hubers, and I am Vice Chair of the Board of Trustees of Catonsville Community College, Dundalk Community College and Essex Community College. With me today is Phillip C. English, Director of Teleproduction and Media Services at Catonsville Community College. We are here today on behalf of the Association of Community College Trustees and the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges.

It is a pleasure having the opportunity to testify on the reauthorization of Title II of the Higher Education Act. Title II provides authorization for federal money for "College and Research Library Assistance and Library Training and Research." We recommend reauthorization for Part A, College Library Resource Development Grants; Part B, College Library Training, Research and Development; and Part C, Strengthening Research Library Resources. We recommend replacing Part D, the National Periodical System, which has never been funded, with a new Part D entitled College Learning Technology and Cooperation Grants.

Community colleges are deeply concerned about Title II of the Higher Education Act because "Access to Opportunity" and "Opportunity with Excellence" are our credos and represent the backbone of our philosophy. Neither "Access to Opportunity" nor "Opportunity with Excellence" can exist without "Access to Knowledge" and that is what libraries have been traditionally all about and that is what they will be in the future.

Modern college libraries are learning resource centers which house books and magazines but also spawn a myriad of highly sophisticated microcomputers, videodiscs, videotapes, television production equipment and software packages, making accessible to students, professors, business and industry and the local community information to which they would be otherwise denied access.

One might ask why does it matter to the United States what community colleges think about any federal legislation concerning libraries. Let me backtrack a moment and tell you something about us and our students. There are 1,221 community, junior and technical colleges serving more than 90 percent of the Nation's Congressional districts. Community colleges enroll five million students in credit programs. According to NCES, two-thirds of the students who received associate degrees in 1980-81 graduated from occupational and technical programs. Twenty-four percent of the students enrolled in credit courses transfer to four-year institutions. An additional three and a half million students are enrolled in non-credit programs. Of all freshmen now starting postsecondary education, 53½ percent are enrolled in community colleges.

Community colleges pride themselves on being able to offer an opportunity for quality education to people who would not otherwise be able to attend college. We are accessible institutions. Our tuition costs are low; in 1984 the national average cost for public two-year colleges was $560 for tuition and fees. And because we have a commitment to providing special services for students who need them, we give many students an opportunity for educational success that they could not find elsewhere.

Community colleges enroll half of the minority undergraduates in this country. Forty-three percent of Black undergraduates, fifty-four percent of the handicapped Americans in postsecondary education attend their local community college.

Community colleges are committed to the concept of "Opportunity with Excellence." Nearly any person, no matter his/her record in high school or his/her performance on national tests, no matter his or her age, race, sex or physical handicap is invited by our institutions to try for a college education. We are firmly committed to keeping our doors open to all students who want to learn. We do not penalize adults because they do not have a high school diploma or because they do not have financial means. We provide our graduates with marketable skills to help them overcome their lack of education and training and to help them gain access to the workforce of the nation.

Catonsville Community College in particular is one of three comprehensive Community Colleges serving over 650,000 residents of Baltimore County. These three Colleges are typical of Community Colleges nationally in that they serve a diverse population with a wide variety of learning needs. These Colleges are unique in that they have developed in response to the unique needs of the communities of which they are a part. At Catonsville the average age of our students is over 27. Eighty percent of students are employed while attending college and fifty-three percent are women. Sixty percent of our graduates continue their education beyond the Associate's degree, while 7 percent already have a Bachelor's Degree when they enroll. Students attend Catonsville Community College at branch campuses, in extension centers, in the workplace, at home via television, as well as at the main campus. Our doors are open to students with handicaps and special facilities are available for the visually and hearing impaired.

In other words, our students represent a broad cross section of the general public and consequently have a variety of information and learning needs. We attempt to meet these needs through an integrated approach to access and delivery of information and service. Our center is called the Library, Media and Teleproduction Center, and operates on the philosophy of providing the most appropriate learning resources to meet the learning needs of this widely varied clientele. Learning technologies are an essential part of our efforts in meeting these needs. We have been innovative and resourceful in acquiring and using technologies, but we need to be able to do more. For example, we subscribe to a data base utility called "Dialog", which provides access to over 200 data bases including many of the most commonly used indexes for academic research. This resource allows us to provide traditional library services to many of our students and faculty efficiently and effectively. With additional equipment such as modems, disc drives, computer terminals and appropriate software packages we could expand exponentially the knowledge and information base available to our clientele.

In our Media Services department we employ cable television to deliver instructional materials including complete courses to students at home. Last year over 6,000 students earned college credit via television and the Baltimore County Community Colleges have been among the leaders in using this technology. Through the addition of additional learning technologies such as Instructional Television Fixed Service Systems (ITFS) and computers, our ability to serve the needs of the distance learner would be greatly enhanced. Telecommunication technologies have proven their value in accessing and delivering the huge amounts of complex information necessary for survival in today's world, and Community Colleges like Catonsville are committed to use these technologies for teaching and learning.

Another example of the type of learning technology that will be of great importance to higher education in the coming years is the video disc. Coupled with a micro-computer this technology combines an enormous capacity to store and retrieve printed, visual and audio information. The entire Encyclopedia Britannica can be stored on a single video disc and any of the information can be retrieved in two seconds. The military and industry are successfully using this technology, and it's obvious power as an information and instructional resource should be capitalized on by higher education.

Our new Part D, College Learning Technology and Cooperation Grants would provide institutions with the capacity to acquire, install, maintain or replace learning support equipment, including computer hardware and software necessary to participate in national, regional and local electronic networks for sharing learning resources. Part D could also provide for grants to consortia if the group of institutions identified demonstrates a need for special assistance in improving joint learning resource facilities, materials or equipment. Public and private non-profit organizations that provide learning and information services to postsecondary institutions could participate. Institutions could utilize the grants to develop or expand programs or projects that will service the communities in which the institutions are located or use them to develop programs that meet special national or regional needs for instruction or information.

Libraries that function as comprehensive learning resource centers are the future and the backbone of the postsecondary community. Most community, junior and technical colleges are not able to keep up with the rapidly changing technology associated with learning systems. They have great difficulty maintaining the quality of their learning resource centers and collections in the face of soaring costs of equipment, software, books and periodicals.

Our recommendation for the new Part D is similar to that of H.R. 5210, introduced by Chairman Ford and Representative Coleman, in 1984. The main difference is that we feel so strongly about the importance of the new Part D that we would like to see 50 percent of all Title II funds utilized for Part D.

Thank you for providing us the opportunity to testify.

Mr. **Ford**. Thank you.

You suggested that we drop part D and replace it with what? Describe that to me again.

Mr. **English**. Change the periodicals, national periodicals system with a new part D which would be technological grants. I believe that is the legislation that you have rewritten, new legislation that you suggested.

Ms. **Hubers**. College learning technology and cooperation grants.

Mr. **Ford**. But you would do that instead of——

Mr. **English**. The national periodical system.

Mr. **Ford**. What would be the reason for subscribing that kind of priority?

Mr. **English**. The national periodical system has never been funded, as we understand it.

Mr. **Ford**. We have got a lot of programs that are brilliant ideas of mine that haven't been funded. Sooner or later we find a way to fund them. Is there something wrong with it other than the fact that we haven't been able to get money from the Congress——

Mr. **English**. No, there is nothing wrong with that.

Mr. **Ford**. You do understand that what you have to deal with here is the American chauvinistic idea that anything worthwhile that is written or produced is produced in this country. Foreigners really don't have anything that we can benefit from reading. Every Russian student over there is reading every periodical that is published in this country and they know more about what is going on in our development of technology than our kids do. It enrages me but it sounds un-American when you suggest that you can learn anything from foreigners.

I am interested in what you would do with money for technology development, what do you want to do with that?

Mr. **English**. We would use in our particular system, Mr. Chairman, we would begin by adding—in Maryland particularly, the State Library Association there—is in the process of planning a distribution system, a system using computers, to access the catalogs of all of the colleges in the State so that we would be able to instantly know which libraries have which material and could find that instantly through the computer system. That would be the first thing we would propose to do.

Additionally, we would propose to use some of that material to upgrade our services for sight impaired students that we service, particularly in the area of reading devices and so forth.

Mr. **Ford**. Well, part of the problem with part D is probably there we used it as a hostage and said you can't fund it until you fund A, B and C at the 1979 levels. We haven't been able to do much of anything since 1979 with libraries.

Nancy Kranich, you talked about the needs formula. I am satisfied that unless we can come up with an understandable needs formula we are not going to get any money for that program. The last time we distributed money under the program, it was $800 per school, which is really an insult. It costs the government more than that to process 800 some dollars. It really got to look like it was a pretty silly sort of expenditure of money because nobody believed that you were going to get anything for it. Are you satisfied that—I know how difficult it was for you, the people in your organization, to agree on what needs analysis is, everybody views need through their own eyes, of course—that the needs analysis that you have outlined for us will be supported by the community?

Ms. KRANICH. Yes, I think that the community is quite supportive of it. It has been widely distributed to the community and all the input that we have gotten thus far, which has been quite extensive, has been highly supportive.

Mr. FORD. You would end up with the minimum grants of $2,000 and a maximum of $10,000. Have you made any attempt to determine how many institutions would then be excluded at that current level of funding?

Ms. KRANICH. It would depend on how many of those institutions are, how the range of those institutions fall. In other words, we are recommending that the institutions be funded according to their FTE enrollment, so if there is a lot of needy institutions that are small, more institutions might be funded, and vice versa. If a lot of institutions are quite large, they might get larger grants, like the $10,000 grant so money will not grow sparse. We recognize that it is more important to give a grant that is substantial enough to do something with than to fund everybody.

Mr. FORD. Let me ask a question of all of you who addressed yourselves to title II. How much time and attention are you devoting to the current battle over the revenue foregone appropriations? I see nothing but blank stares.

Mr. SHILL. If I may address that. A great deal of time is being devoted to this. Several of the witnesses have indicated that libraries really provide points of access to the largest system of scholarly communications, which includes both the 12 million data base and other national bibliography utility, which shoes the holdings of different libraries, what is held and where you can find it, and also to the Dialogue data base, which Ms. Huber mentioned.

There are about 2,400 data bases right now, too, and there are some—these are the equivalent of periodical indexes in electronic form, and many of them exist only in electronic form and not also in printed form. We are using those to identify published literature on subjects, much of which will not be available at our own institutions and the cost to subsidy is very, very important, because when we request them from another institution using the ACLC capability, that is 12 million records. They will mail them to us and if the postal charges are incorrect substantially, that will force us to divert money from the book budget or from personnel, or other areas that are needed to support this.

It is a very frustrating thing at times because the electronic data base identifies things which are not available locally and increases the demand, so postal revenue for subsidy is very important to many legs of the legislation that are linked.

Mr. FORD. Wearing my other hat, I spend a lot of time working on that, especially since I put in the law a number of years ago the special library rate, then subsequently changed it so books could go both ways. Not only from public libraries to other libraries because of the cost of that transportation is borne by the library, but from the library to the users, from the users back to the library.

This year the total revenue forgone, including the educational use, is about $900 some million. For 5 years in a row the administration has proposed zero. Thanks to the fact that the American Heart Fund and Crippled Children and the churches and others have been alert, we have been able to save it, but I haven't seen a darned thing come out of you people in the library business, and I want to point out to you that your subsidy this year in postage costs is probably five times as much as all of the money that is in title II and you spent all this time working on title II, and we haven't seen you yet.

I don't want to pick on any of you because you are only here as representatives of the associations. You haven't been marching with the other people who have been in here for 5 consecutive years saving your library fund for you, because it is the only way they can save theirs. I won't let them save theirs and let you out, so they have to save you to save themselves. You are not the biggest part of it. You even got little county newspapers hustling for you.

I don't see any numbers that I can use in arguments in a conference on what happens to a library when we are talking about giving it 800 bucks under title II(a). The last time we gave you money—3 years ago—and I don't see anything about how you make up the difference if we increase your postage by 75 percent, both what you get and what you move around.

I would just like to suggest to you that if you haven't done it yet, you better get your association awake and get some numbers, because what is going to happen in reconciliation is this: The budget is only giving us $725 million, the cost this year is $900 million. Now, they are not going to take it away from the Crippled Childrens Fund, and they are not going to take it away from the United Catholic Charities, it is not going to be taken away from the little incounty newspapers with the election coming up next year. I have got to go to the Senate pretty soon for reconciliation. I have got to figure out how to get it to squeeze the big foot into the little shoe, and $725 million is probably what we are going to get.

What is going to happen, I am going to get suggestions why don't you dump this library rate, you have got programs that take care of libraries anyhow, the Federal Government is doing thus and so. I need some information from your people about what the direct impact would be on them and how that compares with other Federal funds they get to support their libraries, and my hunch is that they, with very few exceptions, when you get to research libraries, the postal subsidy is going to exceed the cumulative total of everything you get from the other programs directly labeled as library money.

I need that quickly—yesterday—and I hope you will communicate to your associations that we need it very badly, and even then we won't be able to save you. What we will be able to do is keep you at a priority level with these other very worthy causes so that the reductions will be pro rata and not picking off the weak ones, because you in the classroom publications have the smallest constituency in this Congress. Very few people outside of this committee even know you exist. When it comes to who do you take money away from, believe me, politically, the people I am going to meet in the Senate would rather have you mad at them than the editors of all those little incounty newspapers all over their State who write editorials in elections years.

So we could lose the whole thing in order to save those people who have a little bit more political clout. We have hitchhiked successfully on them for a number of years, but don't think for a minute that they won't throw us overboard to lighten the boat if it looks like they are going to take on any water, and when you tell Time and Newsweek and the Wall Street Journal that they are going to have a little increase in their postage to take care of the libraries, their altruism is no place to be found. I have talked to those publishers and believe me, they are not in an altruistic business, and they are not about to make a contribution of their assets to help you.

Do you have any questions?

Mr. BRUCE. No, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Owens?

Mr. OWENS. I just have one. I think that this is in line with the chairman's remarks. Americans in general and Congressmen particularly, assume that we are always ahead in any endeavor and certainly in the area of education, higher education, and libraries which serve higher educational institutions. The assumption is made that we have the best, we have the state of the art for the whole world and I wonder if you had any statistics or any documentation to show how we begin to measure ourselves against other people, anything which measures us against the higher educational institutional libraries in Japan, or what they are doing in the Soviet Union?

We know there is a direct relationship between the long term defense capability of a nation and its educational apparatus and the number of people producing and the quality of information systems. I think these issues have to be raised, and I wondered if you had done any comparisons of what is happening in the libraries in these other major countries—Japan being a commercial competitor and the Soviet Union, I need not say?

Ms. KRANICH. I could speak a little bit about not so much how we compare about what we are doing as far as getting information from some of these countries. There has been a study done recently of the amount of technological publications that we are importing into this country that are in Japanese, and right now, the only one library, the Library of Congress, gets the major journal in Japanese computer sciences and there are just hundreds of other kinds of publications in Japan that are not received by any United States libraries that are in Japanese.

We do not have the trained personnel that know technology as well as Japanese to obtain these materials and this is one of the reasons why we so desperately need a program to encourage the acquisition.

Mr. FORD. Would you yield?

Mr. OWENS. Yes.

Mr. FORD. I would like to ask any of you if the science professor walked in and said what can you direct me to that would inform my graduate students about the current state of development of electrical generation using atomic power in the Soviet Union. Where would you send them?

Mr. SHILL. Chairman Ford, what we would do is search one of the major data bases. What you have provided is a very excellent example of the type of information question which can be resolved using electronic data base where you really have three, two or three different concepts of electronic technology in the Soviet Union. There are several data bases that we could access possibly. The National Technical Information Service data is one of them which could be accessed. Another one is Compendex and Engineering Index Data Base. There are several others which we could try as well.

Mr. FORD. Well, Dr. O'Neill, one of your schools is Johns Hopkins, a great research institution. Would they have direct access to that kind of information, just a guess, at Johns Hopkins.

Mr. O'NEILL. I wouldn't be able to guess whether it would be in that library, but I would imagine somewhere in the Greater Washington area it could be located fairly quick and that is, of course, one of the great values of these bibliographic access systems. At least one can find out within a matter of seconds where it is. One may not be able to assure oneself that that particular issue or volume is currently on the shelves at that institution, but at least you know within a matter of seconds where it is and then begins the next phase of actually locating it.

Mr. FORD. On something that is relatively mundane in today's considerations we are going crazy in this country trying to figure out how to apply atomic energy to the generation of electricity, we haven't developed a practical way to go beyond where we are. That seems to me not to be a very esoteric area for research. That seems like something that ought to be occupying almost as many people as how to get more miles per gallon out of an automobile. There are all kinds of places in my State where you could find out how to get more miles per gallon from an automobile but not whether anybody in the world is successfully applying atomic energy to produce electricity and that is what bothers me.

I am convinced that we have a national interest in supporting in every possible way the development of people who can do the searching for you and the development of equipment that you can use to do the research and then the development of the gathering of materials that will be available for the researcher to find, and when you look at the ridiculous amounts of money that we are able to get out of the Congress here it suggests to me that maybe we ought to do business with the Armed Services Committee.

I am sure that the CIA library can tell you, but you can't get into the CIA library, nor can I, but the Defense Department might be able to tell you. The Library of Congress might be able to tell you that the CIA and Defense Department knows that and the Atomic Energy Commission knows things, but trying to get it for research at the college and university level would be extremely difficult. It would take 5 years just to clear all your professors with FBI checks.

Mr. CHURCHWELL. To follow up on what was said about accessing and locating the citation for the kind of information listed, it is also important to keep in mind that to supply that actual article, the Center for Research Libraries, which is supported by major research libraries, does have an acquisitions program which does focus on scientific literature from the Soviet Union.

As you have correctly said, we don't have people always actively engaging in research which will require that literature and that is one of the burdens of the research library. We still have to acquire it and have it available whenever somebody begins to want to do research in that way and that is why the Center for Research Library is so important.

Mr. **Ford**. Thank you.

Mr. **Owens**. Just to summarize again, I am sure that it would require a special effort to find the material but I am concerned about the answer to the question, "What advantages do the library and information-gathering communities of the Soviet Union and Japan, give to their scholars and students and scientists that we are not able to give because we are not properly funded?"

Can we have some ammunition, some evidence of the kinds of things that are being done in those countries to give the average scholar, scientist, student, the tools that they need to work with so that they produce and will ultimately outstrip us if we don't understand that undergirding any system of research or technological development has to be the kind of support that your libraries can give if we get out of the Neanderthal approach to funding for library resources and give them the opportunity. That is a question I would like for you to help us answer in getting convincing support for this program.

No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Ford**. I am trying to find comparisons with a Communist—if you can find anything in Nicaragua, it would be very helpful.

Mr. Bruce.

Mr. **Bruce**. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Ford**. Thank you very much for your help. I am sorry to vent my frustration on you. I know you are just as frustrated as we are.

Title VI didn't get much discussion this morning. Mr. Brademas and I worked on that in the late sixties because of his background at Notre Dame and mine at the University of Denver, both of which had been pioneers in this field devoting resources to it and we thought it was a great idea. We have never been able to get much funding for one reason because the minute you say international education, everybody thinks you are talking about the Hays-Fulbright scholarships and there is a bitter taste left from those.

They didn't do what Americans expected them to do, create a lot of people who would go out and proselytize their countries about how wonderful America was. We trained people from Latin America theoretically to go back and be leaders in their country and having experienced living in this society, make friends for us and instead they go back to their country and represent General Motors or General Electric or somebody else and probably nobody believes them after that.

And the other half ask Congressmen to introduce bills so they can become citizens of this country and not go back at all. That gets confused and we have to find some way to inform people about what you are talking about in international education.

We are probably the least functionally literate developed country in the world with respect to what is going on in other countries.

Thank you very much.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, I would also like to ask Ms. Hubers for an invitation to visit the Intelecommunications Center. I would like to see it.

Ms. HUBERS. I will have Mr. English give you the proper address and we would love to have you at any time.

Mr. FORD. Thank you very much.

Now we have Congressman Matsui.

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Chairman, I would have no objection if Mr. Julian Spirer testifies with me. It is on the same bill.

Mr. FORD. All right, Mr. Spirer, would you come up?

Mr. MATSUI. We are going to touch upon different issues, but——

Mr. FORD. Mr. Spirer, you have found a rare commodity here, a generous Member of Congress and not taking advantage of his preogative.

Without objection, the prepared statements of the panelists will be included in full in the record immediately preceding the point at which they make their comments.

Mr. Matsui.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE ROBERT T. MATSUI, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. MATSUI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

In view of the fact that my statement is submitted for the record, I will be brief.

First I would like to thank you and the members of the subcommittee for holding a hearing on H.R. 3190, the Higher Education Disclosure Act. I appreciate it very much.

Mr. Chairman, at a time when many of our industries in the United States are faltering because of the trade imbalance, our university system has remained unsurpassed in the world as centers for the development of emerging technologies. As the Chair knows, coming from Michigan, our marketing and manufacturing base in the United States has been severely impacted by foreign competitors.

We are unsurpassed in the area of research and development and high technology. That is because the Congress and the American public have invested in basic research, conducted at our universities and our major colleges.

However, at this time, Mr. Chairman, many foreign companies have found that they are able to invest in university research, conducted at American schools, universities and colleges, and are thereby able to obtain the exclusive use of the results of subsequent discoveries.

There are examples of companies from foreign nations utilizing our university system by entering into conditional contracts that provide patents and exclusive use of the research.

Without the disclosure of foreign investments in our universities and colleges, we could find that we have sold the rights to the major technologies developed by our university researchers. To a large extent, we are subsidizing foreign research. Many of our colleges and universities are funded through student loan programs and other government and private subsidies. The result is that donations made by American corporations and American individuals subsidize foreign research and development.

H.R. 3190, the Higher Education Disclosure Act, will merely require the public disclosure of gifts from foreign sources to American colleges and universities in excess of $100,000 in any 12-month period and require disclosure of any conditions placed upon the acceptance of such gifts.

The bill doesn't preclude universities from entering into such arrangements, it merely requires universities that receive Federal financial assistance to disclose arrangements made with foreign sources. Similar statutes have been enacted in New York, Illinois, and Florida, and it is currently under consideration in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Texas.

A foreign investment oversight function is performed by more than a dozen Federal agencies. To date there has been no oversight done by the Department of Education, mainly because foreign investment in our major colleges and universities is a relatively new phenomenon.

There is an excellent New York Times article, which I could provide to the committee, that details some of the kinds of conditions placed upon many of our colleges and universities by foreign investors.

I thank you and the members of the subcommittee for this opportunity to testify on this bill, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FORD. Thank you. We will have questions in a moment.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Robert T. Matsui follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT T. MATSUI, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Thank you Mr. Chairman for the opportunity to come before your committee this morning.

I am extremely pleased that you have chosen to include discussion of my bill, H.R. 3190, "The Higher Education Disclosure Act" in today's hearings on the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act.

Foreign investment in the United States is not a new phenomenon. Since the Revolutionary War years of 1777-1783, when the Continental Congress relied upon French, Dutch and Spanish investment to support our fledgling democracy in its fight for independence, we have welcomed and sometimes relied upon foreign sources of capital.

While it is apparent that certain foreign investments are beneficial to the health of our nation, it is equally true that some investments have the potential of being detrimental.

An elaborate federal system has evolved which serves to protect United States interests and to assist foreign interests in their investments here. This system includes oversight by federal agencies and disclosure requirements mandated by Federal Statutes and Executive Orders.

Currently, the foreign investment oversight function is performed by more than a dozen federal agencies. For example, six separate offices of the Commerce Department collect and analyze date about foreign direct investment, foreign businesses and potential foreign investors. The Committee on Foreign Investment in the U.S. (CFIUS), an interagency committee, has primary responsibility for: (1) Federal monitoring and analyzing all types of foreign investment; (2) reviewing foreign investments having major implications for U.S. national interests; and (3) assessing and implementing U.S. foreign investment policy. The Agriculture Foreign Investment Disclosure Act of 1978 established a national system for monitoring foreign direct investment in U.S. farmland; The Department of Energy Organization Act requires compilation of a summary of the activities of foreign-owned energy firms and the monitoring of foreign investment in the energy sector; and the Domestic and Foreign Investment Improved Disclosure Act of 1977 requires expanded disclosure to the Securities and Exchange Commission of foreign beneficial ownership of U.S. stock.

I am here today because I believe that it is in the best interest of the United States to have as a matter of public record information pertaining to major gifts from foreign sources to our institutions of higher education.

My bill, H.R. 3190, The Higher Education Disclosure Act, will require the public disclosure of gifts from foreign sources to American colleges and universities in excess of $100,000 in any 12-month period. It will also require the disclosure of any conditions placed upon the acceptance of such a gift.

The United States foreign trade deficit for calendar year 1984 was $123.3 billion. The trade deficit for June of this year was $13.4 billion and the January thru June deficit when annualized works out to $141.4 billion. While so many jobs are leaving the United States, one area where we as a nation remain unsurpassed is the ability of our scholars, scientists and researchers to develop and improve today's technologies. This segment of the production line has remained here largely due to the superior research facilities available at our institutions of higher education. But we are now being threatened by the export of that technology.

Foreign companies have found that they are able to invest in university research done by American schools and gain exclusive use of the results of the discoveries. A recent article in the *New York Times* by Nicholas D. Kristof entitled "Foreign Funding of Research" highlights some of the arrangements made between foreign investors and the U.S. universities they have enlisted to conduct research. A West German company, Hoechst A.G., contributed $70 million to Harvard University to finance research in molecular biology. As a part of agreement for the gift, the company was given the right to market the research findings. This practice has become increasingly common, especially between American schools and Japanese companies. Much of this research is subsidized by American citizens, either through tax money which supports state schools or donations given to private schools. These arrangements also impact upon our trade deficit and the export of American jobs. Once the research results are known, the foreign investors are under no obligation to keep the technology in this country. They can use it to build products in their own country and then export the finished products to the United States.

We cannot allow our greatest natural resource, the abilities of our university scholars, scientists and researchers to be exported without our knowledge. We do not want to awaken one day soon to find that the technologies developed by our universities, which would have enabled our industries to move forward into the 21st century, have been taken from us without our knowledge.

MY legislation would not preclude universities from entering into such arrangements—that would be contrary to academic freedom and would unreasonably stifle foreign contributions to U.S. educational institutions. This bill would merely require that universities which receive federal financial assistance to disclose such arrangements made with foreign sources. The act would promote academic freedom by ensuring that university communities and the public have full knowledge of the sources of all foreign grants or contracts and any conditions or restrictions.

We should not be reliant upon the diligence of the media to inform us about these types of arrangements.

Similar higher education disclosure statutes have been enacted in New York, Illinois, Missouri, Texas, Virginia and Florida. This admirable activity around the country underscores the value of a uniform, national statute.

Again, I would like to thank you Mr. Chairman for holding these hearings.

I believe that this legislation promotes academic freedom and the public's right to know. Academic freedom is a basic principle which furthers liberty and justice in this country. Academic freedom is a necessary prerequisite to education, which in turn is vital to the development of an informed citizenry and the functioning of our democratic institutions. We must strive to protect the freedoms which have enabled our nation to develop its greatness. We must continue to ensure that our nation's universities remain a haven for the unencumbered operation of the free marketplace of ideas.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Spirer.

STATEMENT OF JULIAN SPIRER, NATIONAL VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, ACCOMPANIED BY WILL MASLOW, GENERAL COUNSEL, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, AND EDITOR OF BOYCOTT REPORT

Mr. SPIRER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee.

I am Julian Spirer, an attorney in private practice in Washington and national vice president of the American Jewish Congress. I am pleased to offer testimony on H.R. 3190, the proposed Higher Education Disclosure Act, introduced by Congressman Matsui, who is to be commended for the work he has done in this area.

Accompanying me is Will Maslow, the general counsel of the American Jewish Congress and editor of the newsletter "Boycott Report."

This bill mandates disclosure by our Nation's colleges and universities of gifts from and contracts with certain foreign sources, including foreign governments, of $100,000 or more in any 12-month period. These gifts and contracts, as we have seen, have proliferated in recent years, principally as a result of the increased fortunes of certain foreign countries which have looked perhaps with envy and have certainly recognized the reputation for high quality and impartiality that our universities and colleges in this country enjoy.

The intention of the bill is to preserve academic freedom and the integreity of these colleges and universities by eliminating any question as to the role these gifts and controls may play in the nature and quality of what in fact ends up being taught.

It has to be emphasized that this bill would not prohibit any foreign grants or contracts, but it would rather simply require that these be disclosed so that the academic community and the greater public at large might be made aware of the fact that these grants and contracts have been made and, as importantly, any conditions which may be attached to them.

Far from burdening our colleges and universities, this bill would have the advantage of protecting our academic institutions not only from the subtle and occasionally not so subtle biases which might accompany a sizable foreign gift or contract, but equally important, from any insinuation of bias which such gift or contract might otherwise arouse.

If anyone might feel that there is only a limited need for this kind of disclosure, I can cite a number of examples of gifts and contracts which have embroiled some very distinguished universities in unconform situations.

Close to home, I might cite the example of Georgetown University which, in 1975, solicited money from a number of Middle Eastern countries for establishment of a center for contemporary Arab studies. Georgetown already had a highly successful Arabic department functioning as part of the university. This center was established with grants from a number of Middle Eastern countries and was remarkable in being relatively autonomous and haivng an executive committee of seven persons, three of whom were high officials of Arab governments and one was a lobbyist.

After 2 years, the center did in fact establish a wide range of academic offerings, but it also became the magnet for what we might consider somewhat less savory activity and we had the spectre of a visiting lecturer at the center who was also the spokesman for the Arab League issuing a condemnation of Israel on the occasion of an Israeli response to a terrorist attack, and having that condemnation be issued by Georgetown University as an official press release.

The same year, in 1978, Father Timothy Healy, the distinguished president of the university, found himself having to return a $50,000 donation to Iraq when there were quesitons raised as to the association between Georgetown and that university. Subsequently, in 1981, he returned over $600,000 to Libya and announced "Libya's continued accent on violence * * * has made it increasingly impossible for Georgetown to feel comfortable having its name associated with the Libyan Government."

This bill doesn't take a stand against these contributions and contracts. Rather, it says that the public at large and our academic integrity requires that knowledge about these grants and certainly any conditins that might be attached to them become a subject of information to the academic community and to the greater public.

These kinds of embarrasements that Georgetown suffered are replicated throughout the country. Duke University began a similar center with a $400,000 grant from Saudi Arabia. There was tremendous internecine conflict within the university community itself, prompting the Chairman of Duke's East Asian Studies Committee to remark that this center "is less a university activity than an activity in which certain members of the university serve as a go-between for Arab interests and major corporations."

A no-less distinguished university than Harvard also found itself embroiled in a similar controversy.

I am reminded of a comment which the president of Harvard made a number of years ago to the effect that, "He who enters a university walks on hallowed ground," and yet, the New York Times, in June 1982, reported that an undisclosed Saudi Arabian businessman had given Harvard University $1 million to fund research on Arab studies. That in and of itself isn't remarkable. One can argue it is somewhat laudable, but what was remarkable about the grant and what caused such disquiet among the Harvard community was the fact that that money was linked to research by a particular named individual who happened to be a sympathizer of the PLO and who then was subsequently appointed to be the Director of Research at the Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies.

These questionable practices are not related simply to grants from the Middle East. Unfortunately, we just don't know the extent of the linkages between foreign sources and American universities and colleges. We know, for example, that there is a South African foundation which has been very active in spending money on behalf of promoting South African interests in the United States. We don't know the extent to which there may have been grants made by South Africa to particular universities.

A lot of these grants might be quite innocent. The Smithsonian Institution we owe to the disinterested generosity of a British admirer of the United States, but it seems to me that, and happily to

Mr. Matsui and to others, that we should be apprised of these grants and contracts so that we can take into consideration what the results of those grants and contracts might be on the particular educational processes in our universities.

Motivated by just such concerns for academic freedom, six States have in fact passed legislation very similar to that which the Congressman has proposed and this issue of intellectual integrity is not a local or regional concern. It is a national concern.

Alexis de Tocqueville, in his masterful work on mid-19th century America, wrote, "It cannot be doubted that in the United States the instruction of the people powerfully contributes to the support of the democratic republic." We cannot afford to have the character of that educational process sullied by any improprieties, whether actual or only surmised.

There are ample precedents for legislation such as this and the Congressman cited them. The Foreign Agents Registration Act, the SEC requires disclosure of beneficial ownership by foreign nationals of U.S. corporations. It should be emphasized that this bill would not prohibit any grants or contracts, but simply would require that the terms of those grants or contracts when $100,000 or more in any 12-month period be disclosed.

I have attached excerpts from a book recently published written by a former staffer of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee documenting in considerable detail some of these linkages and I commend it to you for your review.

On behalf of the American Jewish Congress, I urge your favorable consideration of this important legislation, either independently or hopefully in the context of reauthorization of the Higher Education Act.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Ford. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Julian Spirer follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JULIAN SPIRER ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Mr. Chairman. Members of the Subcommittee.

My name is Julian Spirer. I am an attorney in private practice in Washington, D.C. and a Vice President of the American Jewish Congress. On behalf of the American Jewish Congress, I am pleased to offer testimony in support of H.R. 3190, the proposed "Higher Education Disclosure Act." This bill was introduced on August 1, 1985, by Congressman Robert T. Matsui, who is to be commended for the great leadership he has shown on this vital issue. Accompanying me is Will Maslow, General Counsel of the American Jewish Congress and editor of the newsletter Boycott Report.

H.R. 3190 would mandate the disclosure by our nation's colleges and universities of gifts from and contracts with foreign sources exceeding $100,000 in value in any twelve-month period. Such gifts and contracts have proliferated in recent years as a result of the enhanced fortunes of certain foreign states and their nationals and the recognition in these and other quarters of the reputations for strong and impartial scholarship of U.S. institutions of higher learning. The intention of the bill, quite simply, is to preserve academic freedom and the integrity of our colleges and universities by eliminating any question as to the role all such gifts and contracts may have on the nature and quality of what is being taught.

It must be emphasized that this bill would not prohibit gifts from or contracts with foreign governments or other sources -- even those gifts or contracts which, in being linked to troublesome restrictions, might arguably be destructive of academic freedom or integrity. It would simply require disclosure of all such gifts and contracts, and all conditions which might be attached, so that the academic community itself and the greater public might be made aware of the pulls or pressures, if any, under which our institutions of higher education might be laboring. Far from burdening our colleges and universities, this bill would thus have the advantage of protecting our academic institutions, not only from the subtle and, occasionally, not-so-subtle biases which might accompany a sizable foreign gift or contract but, equally importantly, from any insinuation of bias which such gift or contract might otherwise arouse.

Lest anyone feel that there is only a limited need for the kinds of protections this bill would afford, let me cite a small number of examples of foreign gifts and contracts which have embroiled some distinguished universities in highly uncomfortable situations. Since it is so close to home, I will begin by mentioning the series of difficulties which Georgetown University has encountered in becoming a special target for foreign funds.

In the spring 1975, several Georgetown University officials visited a number of Arab states seeking support for a proposal to organize a Center for Contemporary Arab Studies. Georgetown already had a successful Arabic department which functioned as part of the college. The proposed Center, however, was to operate autonomously. After meeting with the Sultan of Oman, the head of Georgetown's School of Foreign Service received $100,000 in seed money for the Center. Additional foreign gifts promptly followed --

from Saudi Arabia ($200,000), United Arab Emirates ($350,000), Jordan ($15,000), and Arab ambassadors in Washington ($55,000) -- a total of more than $3.3 million by 1982. The Center was established with an executive committee of seven persons, three of whom were high officials of Arab Governments; a fourth was a registered lobbyist for the United Arab Emirates.

After two years, the Georgetown Center was able to expand substantially, offering a full range of courses in Arab history, politics, language, and religion. It also, however, became a magnet for less savory activity. When the Israelis entered southern Lebanon in 1978 following a PLO terrorist attack on a Tel Aviv bus, the chief spokesman for the Arab League, who was a visiting lecturer at the Center, bitterly condemned the Israeli attack in a briefing for Washington reporters. His remarks were published in an official university press release prompting Art Buchwald to write in the Washington Post, "I don't see why the PLO has to have a PR organization when Georgetown is doing all their work for them."

That same year, Father Timothy Healy, the University's President, opted to return a $50,000 donation to Iraq -- reportedly given to fund research in Islamic ethics -- after a public outcry over any linkage between that country and the University. And three years later, in February 1981, Father Healy found himself returning $642,721 to the Libyan Government with the announcement, "Libya's continued accent on violence...has made it increasingly impossible for

Georgetown to feel comfortable having its name associated with the Libyan Government." That money was to be part of a total donation of $750,000 which Libya had contracted to make for the endowment of a Chair of Arab Culture at the University.

This same embarrassment and conflict accompanied the establishment of a Program in Islamic and Arabian Development Studies at Duke University with $400,000 from the Government of Saudi Arabia. According to an annual Duke University report, the program unabashedly has served, through conferences and visiting lecture programs at other campuses, as "a clearinghouse of information on Islam, the Arab world, and Saudi Arabia in particular." Not surprisingly, the nature of Duke's relationship with Saudi Arabia and other Arab states has engendered deep concern on that campus and elsewhere including the following comment from the Chairman of Duke's East Asian Studies Committee, "It is less a university activity than an activity in which certain members of the university serve as a go-between for Arab interests and major corporations."

Even if we restrict our focus to gifts from Middle East sources, these few examples are hardly isolated. A consortium of Midwestern universities cancelled an agreement to aid the University of Riyadh after Saudi Arabia refused to give a visa to a Jewish professor from Michigan State University. Similarly, a proposed $1.5 million contract offered to MIT to perform services for Saudi Arabia was cancelled by that country when MIT asked for assurances that there would be no discrimination against Jewish faculty members.

Even as internationally esteemed a body as Harvard University has been affected. James Bryant Conant, the revered President of that institution, once said, "He who enters a university walks on hallowed ground." Yet, the New York Times in June 1982 reported that Harvard had accepted a gift of $1 million from an unidentified Saudi Arabian businessman to enhance the University's work in Arab studies. The troubling feature of the grant to Harvard faculty was its extraordinary linkage to the funding of research for a particular individual, in this case Walid Khalidi whom the Times described as a sympathizer of the PLO. Khalidi, then a political science professor at the American University of Beirut, was in fact appointed to the position of director of research at the Harvard Centre for Middle Eastern Studies.

Nor are these instances of questionable practices related solely to funding from Middle Eastern sources. The same allure of a highly respected academic establishment has attracted funds to our colleges and universities from numerous parts of the globe. Many of these gifts or contracts may be motivated by little more than disinterested generosity. After all, we owe our famed Smithsonian Institution to the selfless bequest of a distant British admirer. But without enactment of the legislation before you, we simply do not and cannot know what conditions, if any, these gifts or contracts might contain or even whether or not a gift or contract was made. Unfortunately, until this bill is passed, the disquieting concerns and innuendos will inevitably continue to linger and call into question the very impartiality of our educational institutions which has traditionally been their greatest strength.

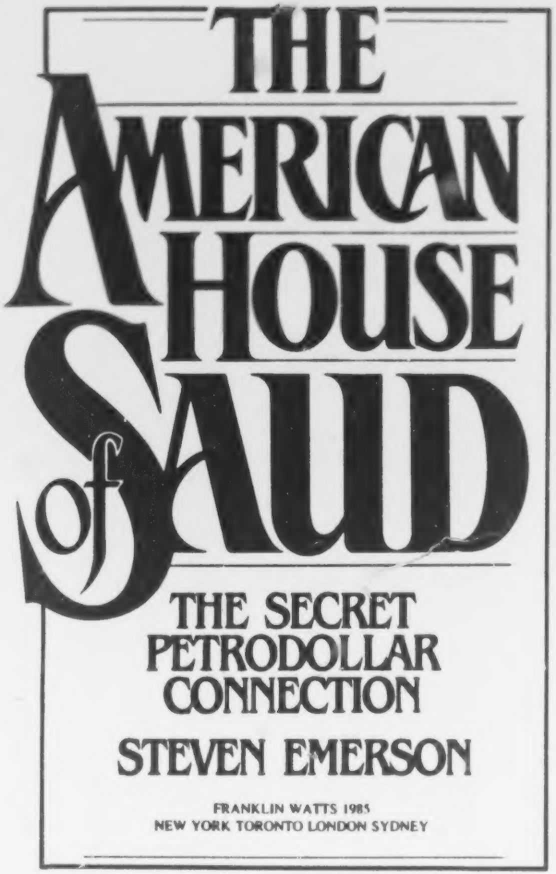
Motivated by just such concerns for academic freedom, six states, Florida, Illinois, Missouri, New York, Texas and Virginia, have in the last two years enacted university disclosure bills similar to the one before you. But the issue of academic integrity is properly one of national, not local or regional, concern. Alexis de Tocqueville, in his masterful work on mid-19th century America, wrote, "It cannot be doubted that in the United States the instruction of the people powerfully contributes to the support of the democratic republic." We cannot afford to have the character of that educational process sullied by any improprieties, whether actual or only surmised. (1)

There are ample prececents for making foreign gifts or contracts subject to disclosure, among them the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the International Investment Survey Act, and the rules requiring disclosure to the SEC of foreign beneficial ownership. The risks to our colleges and universities from the silent flow of foreign dollars should prompt a similar disclosure regime in this instance.

Again it must be emphasized that the bill before you would not forbid anything. A college or university can continue to accept gifts or contracts from any source and with any conditions attached. But the disclosure this bill would mandate would assure that the entire academic community and the public at large will be fully apprised of all of the relevant details. In so doing, this legislation would deter the most flagrant intrusions upon academic freedom and insure the integrity of our educational process.

Attached hereto are excerpts from a recently-published book by Steven Emerson, a former staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, describing some of the many linkages which foreign governments have sought to establish with American institutions of higher learning. Also attached is a section-by-section analysis of H.R. 3190.

As Congressman Matsui has ably written, "This bill is an important step toward increasing public awareness of any conditions, implicit or explicit, attached to major gifts from foreign governments and other foreign sources to our institutions of higher education....[It] is intended to promote academic freedom and avoid distortion of the educational process...." On behalf of the American Jewish Congress, I urge your favorable consideration of this important legislation. ②



THE
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THE SECRET
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STEVEN EMERSON

FRANKLIN WATTS 1985
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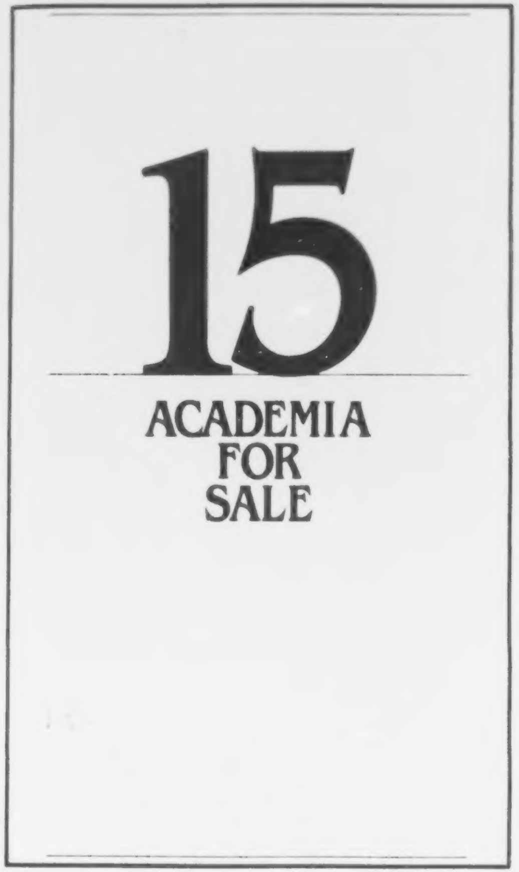

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ACADEMIA
FOR
SALE

I don't see why the PLO has to have a PR organization when Georgetown is doing all their work for them.

Art Buchwald

Halfway between Columbus and Cincinnati sits the small Ohio town of Wilmington, where an 800-student Quaker school is located. In late 1982, Wilmington College officials distributed one-page flyers on campus announcing a forthcoming "Convocations on the Middle East." Ten outside speakers would deliver lectures on subjects ranging from Islamic art to contemporary Middle East politics. The series was described on the flyer as part of the school's "continuing effort to provide increased understanding of international issues." What students did not know when they read the circular was that the entire lecture series had been organized and funded by the American Educational Trust (AET), a Washington-based "educational" organization headed by former ambassador to Qatar Andrew Killgore and funded substantially by American businesses and Arab donors. The petrodollar connection had come to Wilmington.

Established in 1982, AET began its first year, according to IRS records,—with $1,072,237 on hand—an unusually large amount for a new organization.

The prospectus of AET states that it is "one of many institutions seeking to make Arabs and Americans aware of the mutuality of Arab and American interests." But the principal way in which the organization has found to promote this "mutuality of Arab and American interests" has been to focus on the evils of "Zionism" and the state of Israel.[1]

At Wilmington, a group of faculty—aware of the not-too-terribly secret partisan nature of the AET—protested the absence of any mention of the organization on the campus circular. A new brochure was soon disseminated by the college that identified the AET as the sponsor of the lecture series. But the college's description—"the American Educational Trust [is] one of many institutions seeking to make Arabs and Americans aware of the mutuality of Arab and American interests"—had been lifted straight from the organization's prospectus.

Between January and March 1983, ten "experts," hand-picked and paid by the AET, were flown to Wilmington. When a group of Wilmington professors suggested that an additional speaker be incorporated to balance the views of a particular lecturer—a former government official known for his ardent embrace of the Arab point of view—the faculty members were told by the college official in charge of the program that AET would not allow tampering with the format. The request was denied.

Wilmington was not the only beneficiary of AET's assistance. The group routinely provides speakers at no charge—like Killgore's presentation to the University of Indiana—to scores of colleges and universities. And another Washington organization devoted to "reinforc[ing] the mutually beneficial ties between the United States and the Arab nations" also dispatches political speakers to colleges: The American Arab Affairs Council is funded, according to a council source, by large donations from American multinationals and wealthy "individuals and businessmen in the Persian Gulf." Among the firms that have contributed to the Council or subsidized its publications (through advertisements) are Fluor, Northrop, Hughes Aircraft, and the Boeing Commercial Airplane Company. The American Arab

Affairs Council was founded in 1981 by former American foreign service officers who served in Arab countries. The council's current president is George A. Naifeh, who had previously worked for the United States Information Agency in the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Jordan, Libya, Algeria, and Pakistan. The secretary and treasurer is Roderick M. Hills, a partner in the law firm of Latham Watkins and Hills. Hills had once been a presidential counsel in the Ford administration and was also a chairman of Sears Roebuck and Company. The American Arab Affairs Council's diplomatic advisory committee consists of eleven former American ambassadors: Lucius D. Battle, Egypt; Herman F. Eilts, Saudi Arabia and Egypt; Parker Hart, Saudi Arabia; Andrew Killgore, Qatar; Wilbert J. LeMelle, Kenya and Seychelles; E. Allan Lightner, Jr., Libya; Donald F. McHenry, U.S. Representative to United Nations; Talcott Seelye, Syria and Tunisia; Michael Sterner, United Arab Emirates; William A. Stoltzfus, Kuwait; and Marshall W. Wiley, Oman.

The council's most successful "outreach" activity has been its special conferences revolving around a cleverly fused theme: the interlocking of American economic and political interests in the Arab world.

Presentations on exporting to the Arab world and the dimensions of Arab investment are routinely mixed with speeches denouncing Israel and the Jewish lobby by leading Arab officials and former U.S. officials, most of whom are members of the petrocorporate class. Occasionally, a de facto competition of sorts has erupted among the speakers to see who can portray the Jewish lobby in the most sinister manner. Ironically, the Arab officials have been consistently less intemperate in their speeches than their American counterparts.[2]

But what is most unusual is that the American Arab Affairs Council has succeeded in getting the official sponsorship and financial support of major corporations and universities for these highly political conferences. At one conference, for example, held in St. Louis, Missouri, in September 1983, McDonnell Douglas Corporation and General Dynamics Corporation, both huge defense manufacturers, were among the corporate sponsors, along with St. Louis University and the World Affairs Council of St. Louis.[3] For a conference at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee in November 1983, Allis-Chalmers and the First Wisconsin National Bank of Milwaukee provided financial support.

The activities of these Washington-based groups are overshadowed, however, by the proliferation of direct "strings-attached" grants by Arab governments to major universities across the United States. The Saudis, who led the way, made their contributions to carefully selected recipients who guaranteed a good return on their investment.

In fact, by 1978, over ninety American colleges and universities had tried to obtain direct Saudi aid.[4] Of the ninety schools that sought such aid, only three were initially successful in their quest: the University of Southern California, Duke University in North Carolina, and Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. The three were strategically located in different parts of the country.

Of these three, the first recipient was the University of Southern California (USC). In 1976, it received a Saudi grant of $1 million to establish the King Faisal Chair of Islamic and Arab Studies. Though the endowment of chairs in American universities is hardly rare, USC granted the Saudi government an extraordinary privilege: the right to approve the selection of the chair's occupant and participate in the selection of all of its future occupants. Professor Willard A. Beling, a professor of international relations who had previously worked for Aramco, was appointed to the chair less than five weeks after a letter was sent on March 26 from a Saudi government official to USC President John Hubbard stating: "It is our understanding . . . [that] the first incumbent of the Chair shall be Professor Willard A. Beling."

Saudi Arabia's choice of USC as the first American university to receive such financial largesse was not mere happenstance. USC had long been a favorite of many Saudi officials. An Old Boy Network had sprung up, due to the scores of illustrious Saudi graduates, including Dr. Gazi Algosaibi, the Saudi minister of industry and electricity; Dr. Soliman Sulaim, the minister of commerce; Hisham Nazer, minister of planning; fourteen deputy ministers, two hundred Saudi businessmen, academicians, and other government officials.[5]

In 1977, an alumni chapter of the university had even been started in Saudi Arabia at a dinner party attended by USC President John Hubbard. Hubbard had become a believer in the USC-Saudi connection. Interviewed in 1978, Hubbard—whose office was adorned with a picture of him and Saudi King Khalid—said, "I am absolutely convinced that they've been moderate on oil policy in OPEC because of the USC connection."[6]

In 1978, the relationship between Saudi Arabia and USC took a quantum leap forward thanks to the actions of J. Robert Fluor, the chairman of USC's board of trustees. Fluor was the head of the Fluor Corporation, a California firm started by his grandfather in 1912, which had emerged as one of the world's largest engineering and construction firms. The Irvine-based firm built multibillion-dollar mega-projects such as oil refineries and oil-drilling platforms throughout the world, ranging from China to South Africa. Saudi Arabia was Fluor's biggest customer, generating more than $5 billion in contracts from the construction of the Saudi gas-gathering system. The fifty-six-year-old Fluor, a former U.S. Air Force pilot who raced thoroughbred horses, had become an early Saudi supporter among the American business community. In 1975 his firm produced favorable documentary-style films on the kingdom for showing throughout the United States. And in March 1978, Fluor himself sent a letter to 40,000 of his company's employees, stockholders, and vendors, as well as to members of Congress, urging them to support the sale of F-15 air superiority planes to Saudi Arabia.

In May 1978—the month the Senate voted on the F-15 sale—Fluor endeavored to prove his Saudi loyalty on a much more ambitious scale. He invited forty executives from the top American multinationals—such as Mobil, Litton Industries, and Exxon—to a breakfast meeting at the Biltmore Hotel in Santa

Barbara, California. His purpose was to raise funds for an elaborate $22-million Middle East Center designed to enhance understanding of Saudi Arabia. The center was to operate autonomously within the University of Southern California "to prepare both undergraduate and graduate students for academic, business and governmental careers relating to the Middle East; to facilitate academic research on the area; [and] to provide research and related services concerning the Middle East to the nonacademic community."[7]

The Middle East Center was also to be given a voice in the selection of faculty in other departments of USC. The fact that the proposal still awaited official university approval was not mentioned to the executives. Citing the need for good public relations, two prominent guest speakers, Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal and Industry and Electricity Minister Algosaibi—"whose approval," the *New York Times* noted, "is required for any major industrial deal with the Saudi government"—made strong pitches for contributions. The Saudi Arabian government, however, would not make any donations, said Algosaibi, because that would undermine the credibility of the center.[8]

Fluor immediately followed the Saudi speakers with a direct appeal to the businessmen's self-interest. "Contribute," he told them, "and your company will be remembered by Saudi Arabia."[9] As the executives departed from the hotel, they were handed a brochure describing the Middle East Center plus individually tailored requests for contributions ranging up to $1 million.

By September of that year, over $7 million had been pledged. The money was supplied by a handful of American firms whose executives had attended the breakfast with Fluor, and from the East-West Foundation, a nonprofit charitable arm of the Fluor Corporation. On October 4, 1978, the trustees of the university voted to approve the center despite the fact that they would not have total control over the center's decisions and program, such as curricula and selection of faculty. Many faculty, however, protested the arrangement and actively challenged the trustees' decision. In a unanimous vote, the faculty senate voted to disapprove of the arrangements and procedures as academically unacceptable. Yet, the trustees would not budge from their support of the center.

At the same time Fluor was involved in another controversial episode. The East-West Foundation, which claimed to be independent of Fluor but in fact received 65 percent of its funds from Fluor and was run by a public relations consultant for Fluor, provided a $650,000 annually renewable grant to the Aspen Institute, an independent academic and research organization based in Colorado. The money was to pay for an "Islamic-Middle East" program that would, among other things, "focus international attention on regional developments and problems." It soon became clear that the focus of this new program would be through the Arab perspective.

Characterized by academic integrity, the Aspen Institute had developed an international reputation for its well-balanced public policy conferences drawing experts from all over the world. So, in preparation for a seminar on "The Shaping of the Arab World" facilitated by the East-West Foundation grant, two Israeli scholars were invited by Aspen officials along with Arab and European scholars. Suddenly, only weeks before the scheduled start of the July 1979 seminar, the Israelis were told by Aspen officials that their presence would be unwelcome. When asked about this episode, the president of the Aspen Institute, Joseph Slator, said, "[We] are not the United Nations. We didn't feel the need for an Israeli quota."[10]

The demands imposed on Aspen by the Fluor-supported East-West Foundation were unprecedented for a contributor. Other Aspen officials told the *New York Times* that an East-West Foundation official, Christopher Beirn, who was also a consultant for Fluor, repeatedly threatened to terminate all contributions to Aspen unless Israelis were barred from participating in several conferences and unless a specific program was moved from the venue of Aspen's choice, Jerusalem.[11] When the controversy exploded in the media Aspen officials beat a hasty retreat and decided to stop accepting funds from the East-West Foundation.

A similar fate occurred to the Fluor-supported USC Middle East Center. After a lengthy debate, which received extensive and mostly critical news coverage, the USC trustees voted unanimously in June 1979 to reverse their original decision and nullify plans for the proposed Middle East Center.

Twenty-eight hundred miles to the East, in Durham, North Carolina, another jointly sponsored Saudi-American corporate program fared much better. This time efforts had been taken to ensure that the program did not become too overtly politicized, at least in the beginning. Since its inception in 1977, the Program in Islamic and Arabian Development Studies at Duke has flourished as the only academic center in the United States officially devoted to the study of the "Arabian Peninsula"—in other words, Saudi Arabia. Yet, in spite of the absence of shrill rhetoric that has characterized other Arab studies programs, the program at Duke has emerged less along the lines of a typical academic program and more like a de facto southern branch of the Saudi embassy.

According to an internal Duke memorandum, the founders of the program—and the Saudi benefactors—expected the program to provide for the "diffusion of information" throughout the "eastern part of the United States," specifically to create a regional balance to the USC program.[12]

Two hundred thousand dollars in seed money was provided by the Saudi government in 1977, thanks to the "vigorous support," the Duke memorandum stated, of three Saudi ministers: Algosaibi, Soliman A. Sulaim (both of whom had been involved earlier in the USC program), and Mohammed Abdu Yamani, minister of information.

Three years later the grant was doubled to $400,000.

In addition to its academic offerings—ranging from classes on Arabic literature to a course stressing the significance of Jerusalem to the Islamic world—the program's activities include: hosting lavish conferences bringing together Saudi officials and American potentates; offering prestigious public relations platforms to Saudi officials during their visits to the United States; providing consulting services to American firms doing business in the Middle East; and sending out guest lecturers to numerous southern colleges to explain the Saudi perspective on the politics of the Middle East.

The Arab studies program, an annual Duke report states matter-of-factly, has become "a clearinghouse of information on Islam, the Arab world, and Saudi Arabia in particular," specifically noting that requests have come in from CBS, the Department of State, local newspapers, and magazines across the country.

On the Duke campus the program has drawn criticism from some faculty. Commented Arif Dirlik, professor of history and chairman of Duke's East Asian Studies Committee, "It is less a university activity than an activity in which certain members of the university serve as a go-between for Arab interests and major corporations." In response, the director-founder of the program, Ralph Braibanti, said, "That's not true. It's a scholarly activity. We have a very impressive publication record that speaks for itself."[13]

Unlike most financially strapped academic programs, the Duke program has had no problems raising funds. Saudi Arabia provides 60 percent of the program's annual expenses; the remaining funds come in from a host of multibillion-dollar corporations and their foundations such as Bechtel, Exxon, Mobil, Triangle International, Northrup, Lockheed, Standard Oil of California, J. A. Jones Construction Company, Daniel International, East-West Foundation (Fluor), and Aramco (one of its few publicly acknowledged contributions). Arab government organizations and businesses also contribute.

In September 1979, the program hosted a major conference that brought together the largest number of Saudi officials and scholars ever assembled for an academic conference. Organized with input of Saudi Information Minister Yamani—who inaugurated the conference—seventy Saudi and American officials, businessmen, and academicians, in addition to reporters from the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Christian Science Monitor*, converged at Duke. At the three-day affair all aspects of Saudi Arabia were discussed, ranging from manpower problems to archaeology and politics.

Fouad al-Farsy, Saudi deputy minister of industry and electricity—and the first Saudi to get his Ph.D. at Duke—was the lead speaker on one panel devoted to foreign affairs and security. He spoke about the "external threats" to Saudi Arabia posed by Iran and the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. His speech was followed by a talk given by a Saudi registered agent, William Fulbright.

Though politics was not the official theme, the political undercurrents running throughout the conference, according to several participants, were palpable, particularly regarding Israel. The prevailing attitude seemed to have been summed up in the last paragraph of an editorial in the *Middle East Economic Digest* written by Joseph P. Malone—one of the conference's participants and the head of a Middle East consulting firm that promoted exports to the Arab world—and reprinted in the Duke program's annual report. Malone expressed his appreciation to both U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young—who had just met illicitly with the PLO representative and was later fired as a result—and to Jesse Jackson—who, immediately following Young's resignation, flew to the Middle East where he hugged Yasser Arafat. Malone said, "Given the need for economic growth and for Saudi Arabia to be an oil producer for another 60–80 years—at 8.5 million to 9.5 million barrels a day—one must agree with the comment of one U.S. participant, 'We must be thankful to Andrew Young and to Jesse Jackson for giving freedom of speech to so many of us.' "[14]

On hand to greet the participants was Duke's president Terry Sanford, a longtime southern proponent of civil rights, who expressed his belief and hope that the "conference was very much a position of Duke University's concern for what we might learn from other parts of the world."[15] Sanford became sensitized to the riches afforded by the chief sponsor of his university's new program. Six months later, Sanford and Braibanti, the director-founder of the program—who was appointed in 1984 to serve on the policy planning staff at the State Department—traveled to Saudi Arabia at Saudi invitation where they met with dozens of top Saudi education and government officials. Later that year in October, Sanford hosted a dinner in honor of a "visitor" to the program, Saudi businessman Ghaith R. Pharoan.

The program's greatest impact has been achieved through an ambitious outreach program in the southern United States. The founders of the program intended for it to ultimately reach "25,000 students in three key Southern states" and generate an impact on "journalists, publicists, and communications media in all eight states of the Southeastern region." In addition, "the circulation of thirty distinguished outside lecturers" was expected to reach "academic and non-academic audiences of approximately 40,000 persons."[16] There is every bit of evidence that the Duke Arab studies program is well on its way toward reaching its goals.

During 1978, the program's first year in full-time operation, Duke arranged to send outside lecturers—whose expenses and honoraria were paid by the League of Arab States—to a group of small liberal arts colleges in surrounding states. The lecturers ranged from Islamic art experts to highly partisan pro-Arab political commentators such as John Duke Anthony and other specialists with pro-Saudi dispositions.

In the years since, the outreach program has substantially expanded. Professors from Duke have been dispatched to nearby colleges to lecture on "contemporary events and security concerns in the Arabian Peninsula"—and thanks to special, hefty grants from Texaco and the Exxon Educational Foundation, additional speakers have been brought in, without cost, to a dozen local colleges.

In late 1981 Exxon began to provide funds directly to the affiliated colleges to expand or create miniature Islamic and

Arabian studies programs à la Duke. After sponsoring a $50,000 summer workshop at Duke for visiting professors in 1981, officials of the Exxon Educational Foundation sent letters to the presidents of the twelve southern colleges that had been represented at the summer program. The twelve recipients were the College of Charleston, Berry College, Belmont Abbey College, Appalachian State, Coker College, Converse College, Davidson College, Livingstone College, Presbyterian College, Salem College, Johnson C. Smith University, and St. Andrews Presbyterian College. Enclosed was a $100 check for "phoning and postage" so that the faculty member who attended the summer session at Duke could keep in touch with Duke officials, and something more tantalizing: a promise of an immediate $1,000 to help set up new courses and lectures on Arabian and Islamic studies for the campus and community at large. All twelve of the colleges responded affirmatively to the offer. They have since created programs and scheduled speakers, all of which have been specifically approved and funded by Exxon Educational Foundation officials in New York.

At Converse College, a small women's college located in Spartanburg, South Carolina, for example, the Exxon grant facilitated the acquisition of special films, books, and lectures designed "to expand knowledge of Arab culture" for students and townfolk. The expansion of "culture" on Converse's campus has taken a heavily pro-Saudi coloring as evidenced by the speakers brought in from Washington: John Duke Anthony and Joseph P. Malone.

Though Exxon officials whom I interviewed denied that the program has any political bias, Joe Dunn, professor of history and politics, who administers the Exxon grant at Converse College stated otherwise: "Clearly the purpose of the whole Exxon program is to have an Arab point of view. In addition, I feel personally that the Israeli point of view has had more than fair play." He freely acknowledged that he received $1,000 to set up a program to "expand knowledge about the Middle East from the Arab perspective."[17]

In the nation's capital, another elaborate program was established with Saudi money. Unlike the other two, it received funds from numerous Arab governments. In the spring of 1975, Georgetown University officials visited a handful of Arab officials seeking underwriting for their proposal to organize a Center for Contemporary Arab Studies. Although Georgetown already had a healthy Arabic department that functioned as part of the college, the proposed center was to operate autonomously; it was to serve as the country's first full-fledged quasi-independent academic institution focusing exclusively on Arab affairs.

After meeting with Sultan Qabus Bin Said of Oman, Dean Peter Krogh received a $100,000 check. Krogh, head of Georgetown's School of Foreign Service, had taken the lead in helping to set up the new center. The Sultan tripled his commitment of $100,000 in the next four years. During that same time, other Arab grants came from Egypt ($145,000), Jordan ($15,000), Saudi Arabia ($200,000), Qatar ($70,000), United Arab Emirates ($350,000), and Arab ambassadors in Washington ($55,000).[18]

After just two years, the center at Georgetown was able to expand substantially, offering a full range of courses such as Arab history, politics, sociology, philosophy, language, and religion. However, it wasn't long before the center assumed an air of partisanship that seemed to overstep the bounds of academic objectivity and neutrality.

After the Israelis invaded southern Lebanon in 1978 following a PLO attack on a Tel Aviv bus, Clovis Maksoud, a visiting lecturer as well as a chief spokesman of the Arab League, gave a briefing for Washington reporters in which he bitterly condemned the Israeli attack. Though his briefing to the Washington journalists was not unusual, the manner in which the university treated his comments certainly was: Georgetown University published his words in an official university press release. Afterwards, columnist Art Buchwald wrote in the *Washington Post*, "I don't see why the PLO has to have a PR organization when Georgetown is doing all their work for them."

A year before, in May 1977, Buchwald had been critical of Georgetown's acceptance of a $750,000 donation from Libya for endowment of the Umar al-Mulkhtar Chair of Arab Culture. In a letter to the student newspaper, Buchwald charged the university with taking "blood money from one of the most notorious regimes in the world today." He also asked whether the university might also set up a "Brezhnev Studies Program in Human Rights or an Idi Amin Chair in Genocide." Georgetown's faculty at the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies disagreed with Buchwald's criticism. Said Dean Krogh: "I don't know Uganda. I've never been to Uganda. I don't know Idi Amin." The center's director, Michael Hudson, also responded to Buchwald: "The Libyans say they are just as anti-terrorist as anyone else."[19]

But Georgetown University's president, Father Timothy S. Healy, decided in February 1981 that the Libyan money had to be returned. After dropping off a check for $642,721 at the Libyan embassy, he announced that "Libya's continued accent on violence as a normal method of international policy and its growing support of terrorism as a tool of government has made it increasingly impossible for Georgetown to feel comfortable in having its name associated with the Libyan Government." Hisham Sharabi, the activist professor—an unabashed supporter of the PLO and former head of the National Association of Arab Americans—who had been appointed to occupy the Libyan chair, disagreed: "The Libyans are very decent, very thoughtful, very considerate, and very correct" in endowing the chair.[20]

This was not the first time that Georgetown regretted having solicited and accepted money. In the summer of 1978, the school returned a $50,000 donation to Iraq—the money was to fund research in Islamic ethics—following a public outcry. For a university to return funding, especially an amount of this magnitude, is almost unheard of in the perennially impoverished world of academia. Father Healy, to his credit and to the applause of many editorial writers—and also to the biting criticism of Sharabi who called Healy a "Jesuit Zionist"—rejected the Libyan

and Iraqi money.[21] His decision even resulted in a surprise contribution of $100,000 to the university by the investment house of Bear Stearns in appreciation of his action.

But somehow lost among the uproar over the Libyan donation was a far more serious fund-raising episode that raised the question of whether Arab countries were able to directly purchase political goodwill. In January 1980, Krogh, Hudson, Sharabi, and retired vice-admiral Marmaduke G. Bayne—who formerly commanded the U.S. Middle East Force in the Persian Gulf—traveled to five Persian Gulf countries in search of additional funds. In their sixteen days abroad, they met with more than fifty government, educational, and business leaders.

Immediately upon their return to Georgetown, the four embarked on a public relations offensive, speaking out strongly against American policy in the Middle East. Hudson urged the United States to "support the PLO" in order to "preserve [the] status quo." Krogh, according to the *Hoya*, the undergraduate newspaper, "called for a reconciliation of America with Arab public opinion." And Sharabi declared that "the perceived threat [to the Arabs] is not . . . the Soviet Union [or] communism . . . it is Israel and Zionism."[22] Then the group wrote and distributed a special report to various members of Congress, the media, and officials at the State Department. The report relayed "Arab views" on "major issues" and offered a set of policy "recommendations." Virtually the entire report blasted Israeli policies ("a breach of international law and civilized behavior"); condemned the Israeli government (a "theocratic state"); and criticized current American policy (the United States "must immediately and visibly demonstrate its cultural respect for and human interest in the Arab world"). Several days later, on February 6, portions of the report were inserted into the *Congressional Record* by Congressman Paul Findley, Republican of Illinois.

In mid-March, Krogh sent letters to several congressmen urging them to support an amendment, a copy of which he enclosed, to cut aid to Israel by $150 million, the sum, he claimed, Israel was spending on "Jewish settlements in the occupied territories." The amendment, he added, "was in keeping with the recommendations of a report with which I was associated."

Within the next nine months, a staggering $2.75 million in Arab government money flowed into the center. The donations came from the United Arab Emirates ($750,000), Kuwait ($1,000,000), and Oman ($1,000,000)—all of which the Georgetown delegation had visited in January. The two $1-million gifts represented the largest foreign gifts ever received by Georgetown.

Adding to Georgetown's newfound riches were hundreds of thousands of dollars contributed by scores of American businesses with an eye toward pleasing Arab governments. According to university records, these included: American Broadcasting Companies, Inc., Bechtel, Chase Manhattan Bank, Ford Motor Company, General Electric, General Motors Corporation, Getty Oil, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., Mobil Oil, Rockwell International, Otis Elevator, Texaco, United Technologies, and Whittaker Corporation.

As a result of the influx of millions of dollars, Georgetown's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies has become one of the largest Arab studies programs in the United States. The true price, though, has been a political one: the Arab world's obsession with Israel and American identification with Israel have also become the obsession of the Georgetown program. Virulent criticism of Israel and American support for Israel are the single most dominant themes of the center's extremely active program.

Many of the symposia, films, lectures, publications, and colloquia are more directed toward generating political sympathy and support for the Arab cause than toward creating a legitimate and open academic environment.[23] At the Model League of Arab Studies, a program supposedly designed to familiarize students with the workings of the League of Arab States, the proceedings have replicated the real world with a frightening reality: various resolutions—some written with the help of the center's professors—were approved at one Model League proceeding that condemned "Zionist" influences in government and media and the "racist ideology" of Israel. In short, the center—which, boasts a university report, "is used as an important media resource at the local, national and international levels"—functions like an advocate and public relations organization rather than a neutral academic program.

Elsewhere across the country Arab donors made other efforts to attach strings to their donations. At the campuses of Swarthmore, Haverford, and Bryn Mawr, three highly regarded liberal arts colleges in Pennsylvania, a Swarthmore administrator circulated plans for a proposed $590,000 "Arab Studies" program in early 1977. The aims of the program were spelled out in unusually frank terms: "understanding and sympathy for the Arab point of view" and "encouragement of a favorable [Arab] public relations climate in this country."[24]

Despite the transparent political motives of the proposal, the three colleges jumped at the opportunity to participate—only to withdraw after they found out that the sponsor of the program was the foundation of Adnan Khashoggi. Khashoggi at that time was just emerging as a principal character in the multinational payoff scandal involving American defense manufacturers.

To the State University of New York at New Paltz and to the University of Pennsylvania, Libya offered $180,000 in late 1977 for the development of new high school course material on the Middle East. Several officials and faculty of these schools accepted expense-paid trips to Tripoli. New Paltz, however, soon rejected the Libyan program. The University of Pennsylvania tentatively accepted the funding. But in the wake of unsatisfactorily answered questions by faculty about whether the research would be objective and whether Jews might suffer discrimination, the university rejected the Libyan proposal.

In the summer of 1983, secret negotiations were held between representatives of the State University of New York at Stony Brook and high-ranking Saudi officials to create an $11-million Islamic studies program.[25] According to internal university documents, contacts were made with Prince Sultan bin Fahd, King Fahd's son; former Saudi Ambassador Faisal Alhegelan; Aramco; the King Faisal Foundation; and several corporations. The document noted that "Litton [Industries] with a $4 billion Saudi contract would be happy to contribute in terms and unit multiples of $100,000 to, say, $500,000." If the program is created as proposed, it will constitute the largest Saudi-supported Islamic studies center in the United States.

Universities were not the only vehicles by which Arab governments and their American corporate allies were able to spread the Arab message. And as demonstrated by the efforts of Fluor, sometimes American companies took the lead in orchestrating public relations. Bechtel produced a series of films and even commissioned an author to write a book, *The New Arabians*, which was distributed by Doubleday. The book glorified the history of the Arabian Peninsula.

PBS broadcast a three-part series on Saudi Arabia in the guise of a "documentary." Saudi Arabia itself could not have commanded a more effective and favorable means of transmitting its views to millions of Americans on "Zionism," "AWACs," the political favors it has done for the United States, and even Saudi "doubts about the U.S. as an ally."

Written, produced, and narrated by Jo Franklin-Trout, former producer of the much-acclaimed "The MacNeil-Lehrer Report," the series featured prominent "experts" such as John West and James E. Akins—identified only as "former Ambassadors to Saudi Arabia." The lavish, expensive production, shot mostly on location in Saudia Arabia, was funded by four American corporations, none of which were oil companies.

To the average viewer, and to the millions of high school students across the United States who received specially prepared guides on the series and on Saudi Arabia, the documentary's credentials must have seemed impeccable.

What few people knew was that the documentary originated in part from the efforts of the State Department to placate Saudi anger following the broadcast of *Death of a Princess* in

1980. From the very beginning, the "documentary" promised to be a whitewash when covering political issues.

Each of the four companies kicked in $140,000—two of them sponsoring a PBS program for the first time—for reasons other than tax write-offs. Morgan Guaranty Trust of New York is one of the largest repositories of Saudi funds in the United States, handling billions of the kingdom's petrodollar investments. The second donor, Texas Instruments Incorporated, owns a little-known but very important company, GSI, which has operated in Saudi Arabia since the mid 1930s and was responsible for discovering much of Saudi oil reserves. The third donor, the Harris Corporation, sells tens of millions of dollars' worth of telecommunications equipment to Saudi Arabia. And the fourth benefactor, Ford Motor Company, which has been on the Arab blacklist for years, has been openly looking for ways to engender Saudi goodwill. In fact, in 1982, Ford supplied 80 million dollars' worth of technology and equipment to a consortium of twenty-one Arab governments and the PLO that were building a vast satellite communications network called Arabsat.

Neither the corporations, the State Department, nor the most important participant—the Saudis—were disappointed with the final result.

Neither were the Saudis disappointed in the decision of a major American cultural institution, the Smithsonian, to cancel an exhibition of Israeli artifacts. In January 1984 Smithsonian officials abruptly announced that the long-awaited exhibit, Archaeology of Israel, would not be shown. Kennedy Schmertz, director of the Smithsonian's Office of International Activities, explained that the exhibit had been canceled because the "ownership [of 11 items out of a total of 320] was disputed."[26] Those eleven items had come from the Rockefeller Museum, located in the Arab sector of Jerusalem, which Israel had captured in 1967.[27] According to Smithsonian sources, the curators for the impending show were shocked by the decision to ban the exhibition, on which they had worked for eighteen months.

Indeed, in the spring of 1982, the Smithsonian had no qualms about those eleven items: at that time, it gallantly agreed to sponsor the exhibition after the Metropolitan Museum in New York had rejected the Israeli show.[28] But something happened in the intervening two years. In December 1983 the Smithsonian announced that Saudi Arabia had agreed to donate $5 million to build a Center for Islamic Studies. The contribution was the largest foreign gift the Smithsonian ever received.

Though Saudi and Arab oil influence was generated throughout the United States as a result of strings-attached donations, another way in which the petrodollar impact was clearly felt was through investment in the American economy. Nowhere was the effect more visible than in the extraordinary efforts of the Ford, Carter, and Reagan administrations to keep secret from Congress and the public vital information about Arab investment in the United States.

"The Aramco Pipeline," May 19, 1982. All other unattributed quotes in this chapter are based on interviews conducted for this article.

6. *Washington Post*, January 9, 1975.
7. According to ANERA publications and an interview with an ANERA source.
8. *Washington Post*, January 9, 1975.
9. Milton Viorst, "Building an Arab American Lobby," *Washington Post Magazine*, September 14, 1980.
10. *Wall Street Journal*, September 7, 1978, April 10, 1984.
11. *Boston Phoenix*, January 3, 1984. Cockburn, known for his biting criticism of the establishment press and his criticism of Israel, was suspended from the *Voice* for not revealing the grant. He soon left to join the *Nation*.
12. *Washington Post*, November 29, 1982.
13. *New York Times*, December 9, 1982.
14. *Boston Phoenix*, March 1984.
15. *Washington Post*, January 9, 1975.
16. When I wrote my initial article in the *New Republic*, I interviewed several AMEU officials about sources of funding. Executive Director John F. Mahoney said he did not want to release this information as he considered it confidential. He also said that Aramco has contributed "substantial sums, but there are no strings attached. All we do is send them accountability reports." AMEU's vice-president, Henry G. Fischer, who is also curator in Egyptology, Metropolitan Museum of Art, said that Aramco has provided money but that "it wasn't enough." In addition, he said, "AMEU does not take any foreign money." AMEU President Jack B. Sunderland, of American Independent Oil, said, "I am sure that Aramco's contribution is less than 50 percent. And if any foreign contributions were given, they were minor gifts—amounting to almost nothing."
17. The pro-Arab bias in SAIS can be seen from an internal document, dated September 18, 1978, which listed various criteria in the university's search for the field director of the Middle East program. One of the criteria stated that the "ideal candidate . . . should have a comprehensive grasp of Third World perspectives on international questions generally, and of the particular Arab view of these perspectives, and be able to articulate those perspectives sympathetically, if not necessarily approvingly, to students and faculty."
18. Interview with Frank Jungers, March 12, 1982.

CHAPTER 15

1. One of AET's "white papers" focuses on "Zionist mythology." This booklet purports to disprove the "Zionist claim for a lengthy, unbroken

bond between Jews and the land of Palestine" and to "illustrate the beginning of a process still continuing of systematic expulsion of one people from their country by another people who covet their land." The booklet also predicts that Israel will expel all "non-Jews." This "white paper" was written by the chairman of AET, Edward Henderson, a former British ambassador to Qatar.

2. At the conclusion of one especially vitriolic conference I attended in Birmingham, I spoke to a Palestinian economist who had been one of the speakers. He said to me, "This kind of talk [about Jewish conspiracies] is dangerous. You know, it hurts my cause as well."
3. St. Louis firms have been particularly active in exporting to Saudi Arabia. Over thirty companies have substantial contracts with the kingdom, including Banquet Foods Co. (frozen pies), Emerson Electric (electrical appliances and fixtures), Lincoln St. Louis (gasoline station equipment), Pet Industries (Mexican and other prepared foods), and the Seven-Up Company.
4. Duke University memorandum, "Description of Islamic and Arabian Studies, Duke University," December 15, 1977.
5. Anthony Cook, "The California-Saudi Connection," *New West*, July 13, 1978, *Aramco World*, May-June 1979.
6. Anthony Cook, ibid.
7. Internal USC document. "Agreement for the Establishment of the Middle East Center at the University of Southern California," September 14, 1978.
8. *New York Times*, August 28, 1979, L. J. Davis, "Consorting with Arabs," *Harper's*, September 1980.
9. *New York Times*, August 28, 1979.
10. *New York Times*, July 17, 1979.
11. *New York Times*, August 28, 1979.
12. Duke memorandum, op. cit.
13. Associated Press, *Durham Morning Herald*, May 31, 1982.
14. Annual Report, Islamic and Arabian Studies Program, 1977–1980, *Middle East Economic Digest*, October 5, 1979.
15. *Duke Chronicle*, October 1, 1979.
16. Duke memorandum, op. cit.
17. Telephone interview with Dunn, February 23, 1982.
18. *Hoya*, August 30, 1975; September 10, 1976, December 10, 1976. *Washington Post*, October 10, 1980. Annual reports of the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies.
19. *Washington Post*, November 5, 1977.
20. *Washington Post*, February 24, 1981.
21. *Hoya*, August 26, 1978. After returning the $50,000 to Iraq, Healy wrote to Iraqi officials. "I hope . . . we can continue our conversations and

that it will be possible for the University to return to the generosity of the Iraqi government in the future and ask for a gift for which full credit can be given to the government which gave it."

22. *Hoya*, February 1, 1980.

23. One lecture in the 1982–83 academic year was entitled "Zionism: From the Deir Yassin Massacre to the Sabra and Chatilla Massacres."

24. "A Proposal to Encourage Programs of Arab Studies in American Private Colleges," confidential document, February 1977.

25. The negotiations between the State University of New York at Stony Brook and the Saudi government were revealed by Sol Stern in "A SUNY Campus Looks for Petrodollars: Saudi Brook," *Village Voice*, July 10, 1984.

26. *New York Times*, January 28, 1984.

27. Smithsonian officials implied that the artifacts from the Rockefeller Museum belonged to the Jordanians, who controlled East Jerusalem between 1948 and 1967. In fact, the museum was built in the 1920s and operated independently in British-controlled Palestine. During the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, Jordan captured East Jerusalem and nationalized the museum.

28. In early 1982, the Metropolitan abruptly reversed its earlier decision to sponsor the Israeli exhibition. In the public outcry that followed, however, the Metropolitan again reversed its position and agreed to host the exhibition. But at that point, the Smithsonian had already entered the picture and announced it would hold the show. When the Smithsonian announced its cancellation in January 1984, the Metropolitan volunteered to host the exhibition.

CHAPTER 16

1. The office of International Bank and Portfolio Investment of the Department of the Treasury.

2. Figures obtained from unpublished Department of Treasury report prepared for the Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs of the House Committee on Government Operations, April 1983.

3. The executive branch's policy of keeping secret such investment has been dubbed the "$100 billion understanding" by writer Tad Szulc in an excellent article about petrodollars, "Recycling Petrodollars: The $100 Billion Understanding," *New York Times Magazine*, September 20, 1981.

4. "Changes Needed to Improve Government's Knowledge of OPEC Financial Influence in the United States," Report by the Comptroller General to the Congress, General Accounting Office, December 19, 1979, p. 24.

5. Draft memo by Bureau of Economic Analysis of the Department of Commerce, November 28, 1978, published in "The Operations of Federal Agencies in Monitoring, Reporting On, and Analyzing Foreign Investments in the United States," Hearings of the Subcommittee on Com-

HIGHER EDUCATION DISCLOSURE ACT, H.R. 3190

SECTION BY SECTION ANALYSIS

Section 2, Definitions

Subsection (a) defines a "contract" as any agreement for the acquisition by purchase, lease, or barter of property or for the rendering of services for the direct benefit or use of either of the parties to the contract.

Subsection (b) defines a "foreign source" as: a foreign government, including any agency or subdivision thereof; a legal entity, governmental or otherwise, created under the laws of a foreign government; a corporation, foundation, or association whose principal place of business is not the United States; or a non-resident alien; and any other person or organization, foreign or not, when acting as an agent on behalf of a person or organization defined as a foreign source. Without coverage of agents, the reporting requirements of the Act could easily be circumvented by foreign principals who retain others as conduits for gifts or contract arrangements.

Subsection (c) defines a "grant" as one or a combination of gifts or donations of money or property.

Subsection (d) defines "institution" so that the requirements of the Act will reach all the activities of each accredited college or university, public or private, so long as such college or university, or any of its subunits, receives, directly or indirectly, financial assistance from the Federal government.

Subsection (e) establishes that the term "Secretary" refers to the Secretary of Education.

Section 3, Reporting Requirements

Subsection (a) establishes the circumstances under which an institution must file a report with the Secretary disclosing its receipt of grants from, or its entering into contracts with, a foreign source. A report must be filed when, within a twelve-month period, grants received from a foreign source or contracts entered into with the foreign source, or a combination thereof, have a value of $100,000 or more. Reports must be filed within 30 days of the receipt of any grant or entrance into any contract which precipitates the reporting requirement. The reporting obligation of the institution applies with respect to each grant or contract received or entered into within the relevant twelve-month period.

Subsection (b) sets forth the information to be provided to the Secretary in a filed report, including the identity of the foreign source, the amount and date of grants and contracts with the foreign source, and any conditions respecting the grants or contracts.

Subsection (c) sets forth a more limited reporting requirement with respect to grants from or contracts with a natural person none of which involve any conditions or requirements other than that the institution as a whole be benefited. Under such circumstances, the report need only contain the nationality and country of residence of the foreign source.

Subsection (d) establishes that the Secretary or the Secretary's designee must make these reports available to the public for inspection and copying during business hours without the necessity of following the procedures required by the Freedom of Information Act (and the reports cannot be withheld from the public under the exemptions of that Act).

Section 4, Enforcement

Subsection (a) permits any person to bring a civil action in federal or local courts to enforce compliance with the Act through an order restraining or enjoining non-compliance.

Subsection (b) establishes that knowing or willful failure by an institution to comply with the requirements of this Act shall result in that institution's reimbursing the United States Government for its full costs in obtaining compliance.

Subsection (c) provides the Secretary with rulemaking authority to carry out the ministerial duties imposed on the Secretary by this Act.

Mr. **Ford**. You have really two very different dimensions of the problem with respect to each of you, but, Bob, looking at your bill, page 2, paragraph (c), in defining who should make—what kind of a gift should be disclosed, you say a corporation, a foundation or association whose principal place of business is not the United States.

Mr. **Matsui**. Right.

Mr. **Ford**. I don't think that means anything. Volkswagen of American is an American corporation. Datsun, Nissan, all the rest of them do not come here and operate with a Japanese corporation. They come in and form Datsu USA and it has—capitalization comes from the principal company, but the corporation operates as a separate and distinct entity as an American citizen, and so foundations are very commonly found, particularly in education—indeed through the State Department we support about 105 schools in 90 countries around the world whose purpose is providing an American-type curriculum for elementary and secondary students.

The overwhelming majority of them are incorporated here as nonprofit corporations so that American corporations can make gifts to them and deduct it from their taxes. So even though they are run by a school board of people in a foreign country, they are American foundations, and so I think that we have to think of a broader description of this to find out who the real principals are.

I know that for many years the Taiwan Government has indirectly funded all kinds of foundations for all kinds of purposes. I am sure that since you have been here you have been invited to visit beautiful Taiwan and see their side of the story. In fact, Israel does the same thing and we have a lot of countries who do this.

Members of Congress have had to learn how to be discriminating with a foundation who comes along and says, "We want to take you to see this country," because they turn out to be real propaganda things. You are not trying to get at that here, but you could do what Mr. Spirer is talking about, the end result being at Georgetown, one of those foundations. If you are having trouble, for example, with protectionism, what better way to start building a long-term defense than to give the University of Michigan or Michigan State University a substantial grant to learn about international trade with a board running that thing that has a particular bias one way or another.

So there is a lot of very direct—the idea of an American institution accepting money from a foreign principal is repugnant to me if there is no disclosure. On the other hand, you want to be concerned that this does not become construed as any kind of impediment to accepting the money, but I think we ought to look at it and see if it can be tightened up so that when you are talking about a foundation—and I am sure that if you check that it would take 5 minutes for them to either use a foundation or an individual to fund the Georgetown project, and it could be done very easily and very readily.

They don't have rules like we have in other countries of the world, and the whole gift of the Smithsonian turned out to work well for us, there were basic prejudices in the mind of the man who made that gift and fortunately they didn't find their way into what happened here.

Cecil Rhodes would not be a great civil libertarian by today's standards, yet, he is greatly revered because of the Rhodes scholarships.

I have never heard of any instances of those being used to direct people at any particular educational objectives for any propaganda purpose, but it could very well have been done. So I don't find the idea of this kind of disclosure at all difficult to accept as a laudable goal, but I think it ought to be something that means something.

I see the representative of the University of Michigan back there cringing because their disclosure form would be longer than their income tax form, but I don't think there is any—you don't have any penalties in here. Who is putting up the money and what is it that they say they expect to get for it?

Mr. Spirer. I think the chairman makes an excellent point.

Mr. Ford. Let's define the who. I am a pessimist. I figure that if somebody is up to something, they are going to find a way to do it unless you really plug up the holes.

Mr. Matsui. I believe the chairman raises a major point. Tightening up this legislation is certainly something to pursue. The bill uses the word "agent."

Mr. Ford. You mentioned in your testimony, Mr. Spirer, that the Energy Department keeps track of certain kinds of gifts coming in here. You may remember a few years ago when a corsortium in South Africa tried to buy the other daily paper in Washington, DC. They own a paper in your State.

Mr. Matsui. Yes, in Sacramento.

Well, they did.

Mr. Ford. The American partner in that arrangement, as I understand it, is still subject to prosecution if he returns to South Africa, something that wouldn't happen because he has used his newspaper across the country quite effectively on their behalf. A cabinet officer who arranged to funnel the money to him—it became apparent that it was Government money funneled through ostensibly business arrangements—was in some way disciplined over there. I don't know whether he was prosecuted or what happened, for defrauding the Government because they were embarrassed at that time, but it was disclosed that the money that would have bought the Washington Star was really South African Government money rather than free enterprise.

I say that with some risk because he owns papers in my district. He doesn't agree with me often. We have reached a stage where people have found that these investments here are really well worthwhile. Now, Reverend Moon has a principal newspaper in Washington. What his agenda is, I have no idea, but it makes me a little uneasy that he could raise that much and doing good work for whatever they do good work for without paying taxes on it and then make that kind of an investment, and it is very substantial and produce in the capital of our country a daily newspaper that gives a point of view at least in virtually every article they write.

At least at our colleges and universities we ought to make it possible, and I would suspect that it wouldn't take much in my State of Michigan right now to get them to adopt the same law that Virginia and the others have adopted because our State colleges and universities are going through real problems right now about the question of South African divestiture, which is a big problem for them because they receive a lot of money from people like General Motors and Ford and Kellog, who are doing business over there, and it is a tough one. It is one where their principal really costs them a lot of bucks if they followthrough with it.

One by one the university boards themselves have been taking various kinds of action, but never has anyone, so far as I know, surfaced the idea that it is all well and good to talk about divestiture, but how much money do these same people you are worried about put into this State to direct the way in which you are going to study South Africa or the way in which you are going to study the Middle East or, for that matter, Central America.

The Russians could be doing it for all we know. I am sure there are people in the White House who believe the Russians have boards on every college campus already. I am very interested, Bob, and we would like to have your staff work with ours and let's see how the rest of the committee reacts to the idea.

Mr. Matsui. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Ford. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Did you have any questions?

Mr. Owens. No.

Mr. Ford. The next panel is Dr. John Ryan, president of Indiana University; Dr. John C. Campbell, director of East Asia National Resource Center, University of Michigan; Dr. Alan Farstrup, director of research, International Reading Association; and Ms. Carol Karsch, vice president, Jewish Federation of Southern Arizona.

STATEMENT OF JOHN RYAN, PRESIDENT OF INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Mr. Ryan. Mr. Chairman, my name is John Ryan, and I am president of Indiana University and I am here representing the American Council on Education National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges and the Association of American Universities to express—to make a statement in testimony concerning title VI in the general activity of this committee concerning reauthorization of the Higher Education Act.

We have a prepared statement that has been filed with the committee and with your permission I will not——

Mr. Ford. Without objection, the prepared statements of all the members of the panel will be included in full in the record immediately preceding the point where they begin their comments.

Mr. Ryan. With your permission, I won't read from that statement, but rather keep my testimony at this point rather brief, and then respond as best I can at least to any questions that you may have, Mr. Chairman, or any members of the committee.

The organizations that I identified as being those that I represent this morning are very appreciative of this time that is being given to us to speak to the reauthorization of title VI of the Higher Education Act. We believe that that title has demonstrated over the years what can be achieved through a combination of Federal funding support and individual university initiative, especially in this area covered by title VI, the national need, that is, for substantial capability in foreign language and area studies knowledge.

That need hasn't been diminished over the years. In fact, it has grown. And, Mr. Chairman, I took note of your comments at the outset of this hearing relative to the dependence of the programs funded under title VI over the past 4 years or more, the dependence of those programs on actions of the Congress ensuring that funds were proposed for those programs in the wake of administration actions that would have caused a zeroing out of the funds that we had had.

Over these past several years the funding levels have proximated $32 million a year and we believe that they are of vital importance to these foreign language and area study programs. We look to an increase in funding along with a reauthorization of the title itself.

Title VI provides an arrangement under which the Federal Government offers us support on the margin. It never has provided and is not intended to provide full cost of these language and area studies programs.

Instead, title VI provides support for critical portions of instruction in foreign language and in area studies, funding for partial assistance for language instruction, fellowship aid for students, all through university based centers which enble us to have a system that orchestrates and sustains these high quality programs in language and in area centers.

The key concept and one we think has made the program as productive as it is is its focus on the colleges and universities that themselves make large and long term investments in the libraries and the faculty and the programs and the materials necessary to the instruction in critical language and cultures.

Building on this strong base, the title VI program supports students, not universities, through the centers, supports students to follow their long and their rigorous courses of study required to master the languages.

Title VI has also encouraged the development of area studies capabilities, and, again, in a partial, not a full cost provision. These capabilities provide the context and the knowledge about major world areas needed by students when they enter business or diplomacy or the defense or intelligence establishments and here, too, Federal support provides only the margin of excellence and the incentive to universities to achieve excellence within their programs.

The language of reauthorization and the modifications recommended on behalf of these three organizations I represent this morning constitute our understanding of changes needed in the language of title VI to adapt its proven formula to the requirements in a very changed world.

We do recommend greater emphasis on teaching of spoken language and development of verifiable techniques for teaching spoken language skills in the less commonly taught languages. We seek the strengthening of the ability to improve undergraduate education in language and in area studies and we look for ways to improve the stability of the funding mechanisms that support this long-term program.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, we believe title VI has been a tremendous success and largely because the Congress has created a program which offers incentives to universities and colleges which choose to invest heavily in the development of language and area study programs that have a sustaining quality from those institutions themselves, a program that enables students to take advantage of the resources of these centers of excellence and that prevent unnecessary, undesirable duplication of effort by providing periodic competition through peer review.

So, Mr. Chairman, we strongly support the reauthorization of title VI and I would be pleased to attempt to respond to any questions you or the members of the committee might have.

[The prepared statement of John W. Ryan follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN W. RYAN, PRESIDENT, INDIANA UNIVERSITY, ON BEHALF OF ACE-NASULGC-AAU

It is a pleasure to appear before you to speak to the reauthorization of Title VI of the Higher Education Act.

Title VI has demonstrated what can be achieved through the combination of Federal support and university initiative. The national need for a substantial capability in foreign language and area studies knowledge, recognized in the first authorization of Title VI, has not diminished. It grows in importance to our nation's dealings with an increasingly complex and unpredictable world.

Title VI provides a structure of incentives and support that encourages universities to maintain major capabilities in the less commonly taught languages. With the help of Title VI we in the universities sustain centers of excellence in language instruction and in the study of the cultures, societies, and economies of the peoples who speak those languages.

Through Title VI the Federal government offers support on the margin, never providing full cost. Instead the program has supported critical portions of this instruction and capability by offering partial assistance for language instruction, funding for area studies, and fellowship aid for students, all through university-based centers that orchestrate and sustain high quality programs in these languages and area studies.

The key concept that has made this program so productive is its focus on the colleges and universities that make large, long terms investments in the libraries, faculty, programs and materials necessary to the instruction in these critical languages and cultures. Building on this strong base, the Title VI program supports students, through the centers, to follow the long and rigorous courses of study needed to master these languages.

Title VI has also encouraged the development of substantial area studies capabilities. These provide the context and knowledge about major world areas needed by our students when they enter business, diplomacy, or the defense and intelligence establishments. Here, too, the Federal support embodied in Title VI provides only the margin of excellence and the incentive to excellence within university-based programs.

The language of reauthorization and the modifications recommended on behalf of the higher education community by ACE-AAU-NASULGC represent our understanding of changes needed in the language of Title VI to adapt its successful formula to the requirements of a much changed world.

We recommend a greater emphasis on the teaching of spoken language and the development of verifiable and testable techniques for teaching spoken language skills in the less commonly taught languages.

We seek a strengthening of the ability to improve undergraduate education in language and area studies. And we look for ways to improve the stability of the funding mechanisms that support this long term program.

In the recommendations sent to the Subcommittee on April 30, by ACE, AAU, NASULGC and other higher education associations were proposals for several new programs which would expand Title VI, in keeping with these goals.

Proposed amendments to Title VI address the need for improved teaching methods, standardized measurement tools, and proficiency-based achievement in foreign language education through two new programs: Language Resource Centers and Summer Institutes. Separate graduate and undergraduate eligibility criteria would be required for determining Language and Area Center awards, and a second tier of stipends is added for three to four years of additional graduate study at institutions of current academic residence, with awards to be based on national competition judged by panels of academic experts. The unfunded authority for Regional Centers would be abolished.

Title VI has been a tremendous success because the Congress has created a program offering incentives to universities and colleges which invest heavily in the development of self-sustaining language and area study capability, a program that enables students to take advantage of the resources of these centers of excellence, and that prevents undesirable duplication of effort by providing periodic competition through peer review.

We strongly support the reauthorization of Title VI, and I would be pleased to speak to any questions you may have.

Thank you.

THE RATIONALE FOR TITLE VI

First, the rationale for title VI

Title VI consists of a variety of programs joined by a common goal: the maintenance of a strong national resource base of international knowledge and understanding. Congress has recognized a Federal obligation to support international education in cooperation with public and private institutions of higher education. The Federal Government supports international studies activities that fall outside the direct mission of colleges and universities or address specific needs of the Federal government in trade, diplomacy, defense, or security. Over the years, the experience of Federal and higher education cooperation on international education has identified a clear distinction between activities appropriate for Federal support and those falling within the responsibility of colleges and universities.

Language: Training in foreign languages has long been the cornerstone of international studies. Because the United States capability in many foreign languages remains insufficient, as documented by innumerable studies, most observers agree that the nation's strategic interests in commerce, intelligence, defense, and diplomacy require better foreign language skills among both government and non-government professionals. While universal foreign language competency may not be practical, much greater attention to foreign language skills is required. In some foreign languages, sufficient student interest sustains the teaching effort, and these more commonly taught languages such as French, German, Spanish, or Russian usually remain the responsibility of colleges and universities without need for Federal support.

The less commonly taught languages, however, present a complex series of difficulties. These languages, precisely because they are less commonly taught, require external support because student enrollments do not provide an adequate base for instruction. To be sure, some of these languages receive partial institutional support because of a commitment to the development of area studies in that region of the world, but comprehensive, sustained programs for the less commonly taught languages need external funding to survive.

Support, however, rarely means complete funding. Most colleges and universities that have developed the capacity to teach these languages have already made substantial investments in personnel, library, and other materials. They usually only need modest assistance support to sustain the critical faculty and courses to manage consistent, on-going programs of instruction in these less commonly taught languages.

Language programs succeed not only because of excellent and well supported language faculty, but also because they teach within the context of strong programs in area studies including linkages with professional schools and ties to community and public schools. Without this context, the study of any language loses much of it's impact and the impact of acquired language skill declines.

During its years of existence, first under the National Defense Education Act and then the Higher Education Act, Title VI has provided a modest level of critical funding. By supporting what colleges and universities can not do on their own, Title VI has encouraged institutions to do more of what they can do on their own. While we may not be able to sustain continuous programs in languages enrolling two or three students per semester, if the Federal Government helps with the language instruction and supports graduate student fellowships, we can develop major programs in regional area studies, build excellent library collections, and improve our ability to supply experts to government, business, and the other professions; experts who have exact, complete, and current knowledge about a very wide range of international locations and issues.

The design of title VI, language and area studies centers

Over the years, the cooperation between Federal government and educational institutions has produced a system for achieving strong programs, well distributed about the United States and responsive to the United States' domestic and international needs. The key to this success lies with the National Resource Centers, college and university programs focused on international areas such as Africa, Latin America, Soviet and East Europe, or East Asia. These programs, selected in an open national competition, develop extraordinary resources for their area of study with responsibility for coordinating language instruction, area studies, professional education, and community and secondary school involvement. Each program selected as a National Resource Center must demonstrate its institution's commitment, its plan for the promotion of language and area studies, and its success in achieving its objectives. Through this mechanism, the Federal Government has managed to multiply a very small amount of federal funding into a very large international resource base for the national strategic needs in business, diplomacy, government, and security.

Of course, the programs of Title VI could be improved, expanded, and revised, and what follows are some suggestions in that direction. However, the fundamental success of this Title in the Higher Education Act remains a monument to Federal funding effectiveness and national leadership.

Title VI Programs

The National Resource Centers.—The key to the effectiveness of Title VI has been the commitment of many institutions of higher education to the long term development of complex international programs of language, area studies, and professional education. Large libraries, expert faculty, extensive overseas study opportunities, numerous exchange relationships, and substantial research capacity, all these resources underlie the successful applicant for a National Resource Center. Other universities support centers in some world areas, not because they can successfully compete for a National Resource Center but because the existence of a broad based international program improves the effectiveness of those National Resources Centers the university has in other world areas.

Language instruction, the key element in the Title VI design, requires constant external support. Funds for fellowships, attached to the long term resources for the teaching of language, provide incentive and opportunity for students in all fields and professions to acquire usable skills in some of the less commonly taught languages as well as the more commonly taught ones. These fellowships prove most effective when attached to the language programs of institutions who have successfully demonstrated in open national competitions their effectiveness in language instruction. Because the development and maintenance of effective programs for the less commonly taught languages is a long term commitment, the fellowships for students must be attached to the successful programs, else we would have the anomaly of Federal fellowship support for learning languages spent at institutions with less effective programs.

Federal program assistance permits a range of innovations in curriculum, research, and community involvement that would not be possible within the constraints of normal university instructional programs.

Title VI language and area studies centers, because they are National Resource Centers, must also serve constituencies beyond their own academic community or state. As national resources, Title VI centers provide seminars, language instruction, expert assistance, and other services to colleges and universities, communities and business groups, and agencies of Federal and State governments. Without Title VI, these services would be difficult to coordinate and deliver. With Title VI the National Resource Centers devote great efforts to these service functions, providing very cost effective benefits to business, government, education, defense and other constituencies.

Other title VI programs

While the success of Title VI has been great, the limited funding of this portion of the Higher Education Act reduces the effectiveness of some of the programs.

Clearly the National Resource Centers and their associated language programs constitute the highest priority for Federal funding under this Title of the HEA. To further strengthen the capacity of Title VI, ACE, AAU, NASULGC and other higher education associations, have transmitted to the Subcommittee recommendations for the reauthorization of Title VI. Those recommendations include proposed amendments to Title VI which address the need for improved teaching methods, standardized measurement tools, and proficiency-based achievement in foreign language education through two new programs: Language Resource Centers and Summer Institutes. Separate graduate and undergraduate eligibility criteria would be required for determining Language and Area Center awards, and a second tier of stipends is added for three to four years of additional graduate study at institutions of current academic residence, with awards to be based on national competition judged by panels of academic experts. The unfunded authority for Regional Centers would be abolished.

In addition, the needs of two and four year programs require some attention. We, at Indiana University, would like to propose two types of programs which promise unusually high returns on limited Federal support: overseas study for undergraduates and faculty members.

Overseas Study for Undergraduates.—While the advanced study represented by the National Resource Centers and their associated fellowship programs provide the essential base of expertise and training required for the strategic commercial and diplomatic needs of the United States, the requirements for the improvement of international training throughout higher education deserves concentrated attention and funding.

Clearly, undergraduate programs must assume the responsibility for the curricular design and support of their own international offerings, for if international education is important the faculty and institutions will develop institutional programs for undergraduates. However, these undergraduate programs normally become much more effective if they can be combined with an overseas study experience. Colleges and universities throughout the nation have invested much in the development of such programs. We know how to do it well. But many of our students simply cannot afford the extra expenses associated with overseas study. The result, wealthy students or those who do not need to work during the school year to support themselves can take advantage of these programs while most students cannot. What we need is a national program to help, not with the cost of a college education, but with the extra cost associated with a semester or year abroad program linked to the acquisition of foreign language.

These short-term fellowships would be awarded to students, not institutions, but the student must be eligible to participate in an established, quality overseas study program. A variety of review procedures would establish and maintain the list of approved programs, which from our experience we know would cover a very large number of institutions of all sizes, types, and geographic locations.

Such a program would make a big difference in language skill acquisition, especially among undergraduates destined for careers in business, government, or the professions. These are the people who most need an understanding of international affairs and can carry the benefit from an overseas experience and the associated language training into their subsequent careers.

Faculty Seminars.—While the National Resource Centers do an excellent job of developing curricular instruction in language and area studies, they do less well with programs to sustain the foreign language skills and international affairs expertise of alumni and other educated professionals, especially teachers in colleges. Because such individuals have completed their education, they do not fit into curricular programs, and because the universities' mission is essentially curricular they do not have funds to support post-graduate training.

What would greatly improve the currency and quality of international studies at the undergraduate level would be a program for regional summer seminars, perhaps of 4 to 6 week duration, focused on specific broad areas of international studies: Latin America, Arms Control, Population Issues, or the Pacific Rim, for example. Faculty whose principal responsibility is undergraduate instruction could apply to participate in these seminars. To qualify, they would need institutional support either in the form of support for course development on returning from the Summer seminar or financial support for attendance at the seminar.

The seminars would serve to keep faculty knowledge current and encourage the development of new curriculum adjusted to changes in world affairs and international conditions.

Mr. **Ford**. Thank you.
Dr. Campbell.

STATEMENT OF JOHN C. CAMPBELL, DIRECTOR OF EAST ASIA NATIONAL RESOURCE CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Mr. **Campbell**. Mr. Chairman, and members of the subcommittee, my name is John Campbell. I teach Japanese politics at the University of Michigan and I am the director of our Center for Japanese Studies and the East Asia Center, which includes Chinese studies.

It is a great pleasure for me to be invited to testify about title VI. I was impressed with this program when I first received a national defense foreign language fellowship in the sixties to study Japan, and I have been still more impressed with how well it works since becoming involved with it professionally.

There have been a number of reports in recent years that have deplored the lack of language speaking ability and expert knowledge of foreign countries of Americans. I think I feel as strongly about that problem as anyone does. Certainly we are very aware that there must be a thousand Japanese salesmen speaking English in the United States for every American even coming close to speaking Japanese in Tokyo.

It is important to point out that at least in Asian studies if you compare the United States to Europe, we are in far better shape. There are more Americans who speak Asian language, we do much better research and many more Americans have been exposed to Asia through college courses and other experiences than people anywhere else in the Western World.

The leadership has come mainly from the universities and particularly from the title VI centers. The reason why the Title VI Program has been a success is that it makes sense.

Center support gives the area studies faculty enough leverage on campus to maintain and expand their teaching programs, their library resources and their outreach programs. As Dr. Ryan said, Federal funding is highly marginal, 10 percent at best, but it makes a large difference. The FLAS Program, through it is relatively small, provides essential fellowship support with the decisions on that support made in the centers where the knowledge about student qualifications and career possibilities is highest.

The new Part B Program is starting to put our area studies resources to work in helping American business and industry learn what they need to know about Japan and about other foreign areas. Congress and this subcommittee in particular deserve high marks for having the foresight to maintain the Title VI Program.

However, the needs are rising rapidly. My impression is that the conciousness of America's international vulnerabilities and opportunities is now widespread at the top management level in American business. It is true that this consciousness unfortunately has not yet seeped down to the personnel offices that actually higher people but in fact demand for area studies graduates in general is rising—I said sharply, but moderately might be a better phrase.

The students have also caught on to this trend. Over the past 4 years the enrollment in first year Japanese has gone from under 50 to over 120. At Michigan we have three times more undergraduate Russian and East European concentrators. This week at Michigan we are enrolling three times more students in our Center for Japanese Studies M.A. program than we did just last year.

My point is that the basic title VI programs work very well but the resources are inadequate. I have seen several of the new proposals for amendments to title VI, including second tier fellowships and so forth.

I think many of these are good ideas but I think it would be counterproductive if they cut into the support for the basic programs. In my opinion, the best use for moderately increased funds in title VI would be to expand the basic programs incrementally and if I had to pick I would say particularly center-administered FLAS fellowships is the largest need.

I have a couple of specific comments. It is important to remember that while language training is very important, it is only one of three components of the training required for the people who will help the United States meet its international problems. The other two components are a solid knowledge of the society and culture of the foreign area and excellent professional or disciplinary training.

I have one problem with the proposed idea of a national competition for second tier FLAS fellowships. According to the language I say it would use scores on a national language proficiency examination as a major criterion for selection of students.

I am opposed to this. I think that such tests should be used in screening so that it should be sure that applicants have the language competence that they need, but that the proper criteria for selection should be performance and promise in his or her chosen field.

More generally, I think we do need a larger cadre of completely fluent language experts, but an even higher priority is to produce a much larger number of experts in many fields with excellent area studies in specialized training along with the appropriate competence in a foreign language.

Second, I agree that language in area training at the undergraduate level needs more attention. An effective way to do this is to encourage various modes of cooperation between the major graduate centers and the undergraduate institutions, often have very high quality but who lack the resources for full scale international studies programs, which do involve substantial financing and human resources.

Recently the University of Michigan got to go with the Great Lakes College Association and the Associated Colleges of the Midwest to propose a cooperative program that covers all area studies, the general aim being to share resources to revitalize faculty and to increase opportunities for the students at all the institutions.

We are looking for foundation support for this plan not from the Government, but it seems to me that any legislation under title VI should not preclude but should encourage these sorts of creative and cooperative ventures.

I would like to conclude with an observation based on my own experience in Japan that might be relevant having to do with the way title VI has been implemented. In the last several years we have heard about many lessons from Japan. Quite recently some American executives have been saying that the fundamental principle of the Japanese management style is to keep things simple and to concentrate on the basics, of which two of the most basic elements are, first, to assure the people that have to do the work that they will have the support that they need, and second, to keep a close eye on them to help them perform up to standard.

These two rather homely management virtues have been conspicuously lacking in the Title VI Program. In the first place, if this country's deficiencies in language and area expertise are going to be remedied, we at the centers and the universities are the people who will have to do the work, but we do not know from one year to the next if title VI is even going to survive.

It is very difficult to plan an effective strategy when one is unsure whether or not the resources to carry it out will be available.

In the second place, title VI is a national program—it should be, it is a national need—and the centeres should be able to rely on the Department of Education staff for advice and help and expect to get comments from that staff if we head in the wrong direction.

This sort of administrative oversight is impossible with the current minimal staffing levels for the Title VI Program in the Department of Education, and I mean that at both the professional level and the simple clerical level.

I think all of us in the field have been impressed with how well the few civil servants who administer this program have been able to keep up with it. They certainly have been helpful to us, but it is obvious that they need more support, particularly so if some of these new and generally worthwhile program ideas are to be initiated.

Title VI is a very good program. It uses rather limited funds very efficiently in support of a vital national interest. With some stability of expectations and with adequate resources, it would become still more effective.

On behalf of area study centers all across the country, I would like to express our appreciation for the leadership this subcommittee has provided for the Title VI Program and would be delighted to answer any questions.

[The prepared statement of John Campbell follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN CAMPBELL, DIRECTOR, EAST ASIA NATIONAL RESOURCE CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I am John Campbell, from the University of Michigan, and I am pleased to have been asked to present my views about the pending reauthorization of Title VI of the Higher Education Act of 1985. I am a political scientist specializing on Japan, and I am the director of our National Resource Center on East Asia, which is made up of the Centers for Chinese and Japanese Studies. The Japan Center, which I also direct, is the oldest of its kind in the US, and our East Asia program is one of the largest. In addition to National Resource Center (NRC) and Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowship support, our Center has received a grant under Title VI Part B to expand the Michigan Program on Business and International Education. We are also developing computer-assisted instruction in Chinese and Japanese languages under a grant from the Title VI undergraduate program given to the Association for Asian Studies.

My comments about the Title VI program and recently proposed amendments are drawn mainly from my experience with the East Asia National Resource Center and the Center for Japanese Studies. They also reflect the views of other National Resource Centers at Michigan (South and Southeast Asia, Middle East, and Russian and Eastern Europe), and I believe of many centers at other universities.

Successes of Title VI

Many reports have recently pointed up the weakness of Americans' knowledge of foreign countries and foreign languages. I certainly share this concern. With our country's ever-increasing involvement in the world, especially in the economic sphere, there is no question that we need far more area expertise and language competence than is now available. This entirely correct observation should not, however, obscure the substantial successes of language and area studies in the United States--successes due in no small part to the Title VI program.

East Asia may provide the best example. While our intellectual resources are by no means commensurate with the importance of China, Japan and Korea to the United States, we are in much better shape than are the Europeans. We have many more Chinese and Japanese speakers, we do better research, and we produce more publications. Far more American citizens have been exposed to Asian society and culture through college courses. The leadership in these efforts has come primarily from the universities, particularly the National Resource Centers supported by Title VI.

The funds for these efforts overwhelmingly come from the universities themselve. Less than 10 percent of Michigan's two-million-dollar-plus East Asia Program is supported from federal funds. Title VI nonetheless provides the crucial margin that helps us carry out activities that would be hard to manage otherwise, including the maintenance of top-quality foreign-language library collections, preparation of teaching materials, and assistance to K-12 teachers who want to learn about foreign societies. Even before the initiation of the Part B program, the availability of Title VI funds allowed us to allocate seed money to start new business outreach activities, which later came to be self-supporting--the Japan Center's annual U.S.-Japan Automotive Industry Conference, which began in 1981, is a good example. More generally, the existence of a National Resource Center with federal support gives the area studies faculty considerable leverage on campus. A relatively small allocation can lead to a new, permanent faculty appointment--a real multiplier effect.

As I say, I think our East Asia Center and the other National Resource Centers around the country have done an outstanding job, even it has not been an adequate job when compared with the overwhelming need. This is the perspective I start with when I look over the various proposals that have been suggested in connection with the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act. I have seen some good ideas, and will comment on them shortly, but I would like to emphasize most strongly that the basic Title VI programs are working very well. Over the past five years at Michigan, the number of undergraduate Russian Studies concentrators has increased three-fold, we have gone from under 50 to over 120 students in first-year Japanese, and this week we are enrolling three times more students in our Japan MA program than we had last year.

We must all commend the foresight of Congress in recognizing the importance of area studies, and maintaining and even increasing support for Title VI programs in such difficult times. Needs go up much faster than our resources. New and experimental ideas are needed, but adequate support for the ongoing, successful, fundamental Title VI programs has to be the highest priority.

Language Training

This general point provides an important perspective on the many proposals which have surfaced recently about language teaching. I certainly agree with the many reports that argue that far too few Americans are competent in foreign languages, particularly the more difficult languages. It has become a familiar observation that there must be a thousand Japanese salesmen in the U.S. speaking good English for every American salesman in Japan who can even get along in Japanese. The quantity and quality of language courses must be improved at all educational levels. That requires particular attention to the major graduate area studies centers, since they will continue to be the main source for good language teachers and for research on language pedagogy. For example, we at Michigan are excited about our project, financed from Title VI funds, to develop Chinese and Japanese computer-assisted instruction programs that can be run on ordinary personal computers. That makes them accessible even to small colleges with limited resources. Further development and effective implementation of the new methodologies associated with performance-based evaluation and instruction, which mostly came out of the government's language training facilities, will also depend crucially on reforms in the programs at the major centers.

The point to keep in mind here is that the existing language programs have by no means failed. Thousands of students are successfully learning difficult languages all across the country. They are being taught by dedicated teachers, many with high qualifications, who are among the most overworked (and underpaid) specialists on any campus. New methodologies have to be introduced in ways that help these teachers do their jobs rather than burden them with more and more responsibilities. In particular, performance-based evaluation and other techniques from the government language programs will require modifications to be effective in the college and university setting, where the objectives are somewhat different, the numbers are greater, and the resources much scarcer. Neither computers nor new tests are going to provide a quick fix to our language problems--we need long and patient efforts, backed by all the financial and technical encouragement we can manage.

It must also be remembered that language ability, while vital, is one of at least three necessary components in training the people who will help this country meet the demands of internationalization. The other two components are a solid knowledge of the society and culture of the foreign area, and excellent professional or disciplinary preparation. I am concerned that the proposed second-tier FLAS fellowship program might put too much weight on sheer language talent, by using scores on a national language proficiency test as a major criterion in deciding which students will get supported for advanced studies. I am opposed to this. We need both a cadre of real language experts who are completely fluent, and a much larger number of experts in many fields who have appropriate and adequate language skills. In particular, advanced fellowship applicants should be required to pass a language proficiency examination, but their overall abilities should be the main consideration in making awards.

FLAS Fellowships

The second-tier fellowship idea is otherwise quite sensible in principle. It is important to support the best students for advanced language and area studies along with top-quality disciplinary and professional training. I personally believe that better selections could be made at the university level, where knowledge about the applicants is concentrated, rather than by temporary committees and overworked officials in Washington. I do not make this argument with much fervor, however, since institutions like Michigan would benefit disproportionally in a national competition that awards portable fellowships.

I would emphasize most strongly that if Congress decides to enact this new program, it must be second-tier; that is, it must supplement and not supplant the existing FLAS system, which itself urgently requires higher levels of support. Center-administered FLAS fellowships can be awarded flexibly as appropriate to the particular needs of particular groups of students, often including advanced students. They can be used to generate additional fellowship funds, allowing support of more students. If it is decided in Washington that certain priorities should be followed in awarding fellowships, such as supporting professional students or those in the so-called "scarce" disciplines, the exisiting guidelines mechanism is quite adequate. Such guidelines were enforced by the Department of Education last year and had a substantial impact on the pattern of Center fellowship awards.

The FLAS fellowship program is not large especially given that both the national need for foreign area expertise and the number of students requiring aid are increasing sharply. Last year, Michigan's East Asia Center, one of the largest in the country, could award only six FLAS fellowships in Chinese studies and four in Japanese studies. In my opinion, increasing the number of FLAS fellowships in the existing program would be the best use of any new funds made available under Title VI. I would favor the second-tier initiative only if it were clear that the resources for the basic program would be protected and enlarged to come somewhat closer to meeting real needs.

Undergraduate Area Studies

The American Council on Education and other organizations have made several suggestions about Section 604 on Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Programs, including the excellent idea of Intensive Summer Language Institutes. I agree that language and area training at the undergraduate level needs more attention, and would point out that the graduate-level National Resource Centers are crucial to such efforts. Michigan has recently joined with the Great Lakes College Association and the Associated Colleges of the Midwest, made up of fine private liberal-arts colleges, to propose a broad-scale program of cooperation with regard to several world areas. Many of the GLCA-ACM member schools have a long tradition in area studies, but they are too small to mount full-scale programs. Our proposal is for college faculty and students to come to Ann Arbor, for Michigan faculty and advanced graduate students to help out on their campuses, for general cooperation in study-abroad programs, and so forth. By sharing resources and revitalizing existing faculty and programs, we anticipate substantial benefits at minimum cost. We are trying to get foundation support for this new idea, but it is a cost-effective approach which might be considered in Washington as well. I hope at least that any new legislative language would not prohibit such efforts in creative cooperation. In general, good undergraduate language and area programs depend on effective graduate centers, directly or indirectly, and it would be counter-productive if new initiatives weakened the basic structure.

Supply and Demand

I would like next to address the question of the "imbalance" between area-studies graduates and available jobs, which in some reports has been used to argue that the number of specialists being trained should be cut back. I think this is a dangerous notion. In the first place, at Michigan and other first-rank institutions, nearly all area studies graduates at the MA and Ph.D. level do find jobs where they use their training or have good prospects for doing so in the near future. Only the marginal students have real trouble. It is true that openings in the more academic areas are fewer than in the era when many universities were expanding area studies, but the need for more college teachers should improve before very long when first-generation area studies faculty begin to retire. More importantly, the market has been expanding: even today increased demand from buiness firms, national and state government, and nonprofit organizations and the professions has taken up much of the slack.

There is no question that the real growth area will be in business and business-related areas. The impression I have gotten from talking with executives at many corporations, reinforced by reading the business press, is that the consciousness of America's international vulnerabilities is now both widespread and intense at the upper-management level. The surge of requests we have gotten for management briefings and all sorts of specialized information on East Asia is further evidence of this trend. Unfortunately, it is true this new international consciousness has yet to seep down to many personnel offices, with the exception of the banking and finance field, but given the nature of corporate hierarchies I expect it will.

To echo a point made above, companies will be demanding students who can handle foreign languages and who have good area training in addition to--not instead of--professional qualifications. Many universities have responded well to this trend. Michigan has initiated new joint MA/MBA programs in Asian, Middle Eastern and Soviet and East European Studies with International Business and is adding faculty in this area. We are also experimenting with language programs tailored for business and professional students, and we intend to expand our internship programs and placement services.

Congress and the Department of Education deserve credit for recognizing the importance of area studies to America's international economic competitiveness. The Title VI Part B program is well conceived, and although our experience with this program is too short to reach any conclusive judgements, I think it has already had a substantial impact on both the supply side and the demand side. That is, these funds have induced colleges and universities to provide business-relevant training to their students, and at the same time, by encouraging these institutions to build cooperative relationships with firms and associations, the new program is stimulating the growing consciousness among managers at all levels that we really do need to know more about the rest of the world. That should lead to more jobs.

Program Implementation

I would like to conclude with an observation based on my own experience in Japan that may be relevant. In the last several years we have heard about many "lessons from Japan," but quite recently some American executives have been saying that the fundamental principle of the Japanese management style is to keep things simple and concentrate on the basics. Two of the most basic elements are these: First, assure the people that have to do the work that they will have the support they need. Second, keep a close eye on them to help them perform up to standard. These two rather homely management virtues have been conspicuously lacking in the Title VI program.

In the first place, if this country's deficiencies in language and area expertise are going to be remedied, we are the people who will have to do the work, but we do not know from one year to the next if Title VI is even going to survive. It is very difficult to plan an effective strategy when one is unsure whether or not the resources to carry it out will be available. In the second place, Title VI is a national program, and the Centers should be able to rely on the Department of Education staff for advice and help, and should also expect to get some sharp comments if we head off in a wrong direction. This sort of administrative oversight is impossible with the current minimal staffing for the Title VI program in the Department of Education, at both the professional and simple clerical levels. I think all of us have been impressed with how well the few civil servants who administer this program have been able to keep up, but it is obvious that they need more support--especially if some of these worthwhile new program ideas are to be initiated.

Title VI is a good program. It uses rather limited funds quite efficiently in support of a vital national interest. With some stability of expectations, and with adequate resources, it would become still more effective.

Once again, on behalf of area studies centers all across the country, I would like to express our appreciation for the leadership this subcommittee has provided for the Title VI program. I would be glad to answer any questions you might have.

Mr. FORD. Thank you.
Dr. Farstrup.

STATEMENT OF ALAN E. FARSTRUP, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH, INTERNATIONAL READING ASSOCIATION

Mr. FARSTRUP. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the subcommittee. I am Alan Farstrup, Director of Research for the International Reading Association.

My experience is a diverse one encompassing work as a construction laborer, a Peace Corps volunteer in Afghanistan, a secondary school teacher, a student abroad, a university professor and an educational researcher. My involvement in reading and literacy at both the preschool, the elementary, the secondary and the college level is one that is quite diverse and I have seen firsthand the devastating effects of illiteracy in this country and abroad and how that affects our own national security.

The International Reading Association is a professional society of over 60,000 members and 1,180 affiliate councils in all 50 States and in 36 nations worldwide. The Association and its members are dedicated to promoting the reading habit by working to improve reading and the teaching of reading.

Our reason for being here today is to speak in support of the reauthorization of title VI and to propose that the committee consider the importance of international literacy efforts as a part of that act.

The international education programs authorized by the Higher Education Act are examples of how the United States can contribute to world efforts to combat illiteracy and promote better education. These efforts involve the United States in an arena of ideas which are basic to the preservation of our republic, individual freedom, democracy, and the free enterprise system.

Education is an essential element in any plan to promote and defend our national self-interest and literacy is a keystone for effective education.

It has been argued, for example, that had higher levels of education and literacy existed in Central America, many of the social, political, and military problems which we now confront in that tortured region of the world would not have been as serious or menacing as we now find them to be. Literacy in these regions is proving to be an issue which influences important aspects of our own national security.

We believe that the title VI reauthorization can have a role in improving the role of American higher education in fostering literacy in these areas. The International Reading Association some time ago has submitted recommendations to this subcommittee regarding what we refer to as a literacy for democracy act.

This act is designed to foster the building of national literacy programs within the developing world that link nation-building programs and manpower development programs to programs of education rooted in the democratic tradition. The proposal would create a program designed to school national and provincial level educators of developing countries in how to effectively administer and promote literacy and basic education programs in their own countries.

Our proposal outlines a modest program that would be housed at an American university where educators from developing countries would come to study literacy education, human learning, evaluation, economics, human services delivery programs, political science, and related disciplines.

The proposal also involves the development of a positive literacy environment abroad through the encouragement of linkages between business and industry and education in developing countries.

The International Reading Association supports this kind of linkage. Our primary interest here is to support the idea that well-trained literacy educators and program managers can make a difference and that the United States and its higher education system has a positive contribution to make.

We believe that the proposed act together with the reauthorization of title VI will offer a realistic means to promote improved literacy levels worldwide as well as improve knowledge of the rest of the world in the area studies referred to by other speakers this morning and that literacy and these kinds of improvements are vital to progress and freedom, indeed, to our own national security.

I think Thomas Jefferson made the point very well when he made the statement if a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and what never will be.

We support the reauthorization of title VI. We have heard from American citizens, from our own members throughout this country, that the development of expertise and the transmission of this expertise to an international arena would be useful, that it would work, that it would build on existing capabilities of the universities in this country, and we support such a program.

The implementation of the proposed act would strengthen the notion that literacy is an important aspect of American international education programs and that literacy and basic education are essential to viability of democratic and free societies.

In summary, the act as proposed along with the reauthorization of title VI would create a school of management for literacy, encourage linkages between business and education in developing countries, and foster and encourage effective literacy in the developing world, and not incidentally would focus and increase our own capabilities in combatting literacy problems in this country.

We believe that improving literacy levels around the world is in the best interests of every person and that such efforts are consistent with the values and ideals of the American people.

I thank the committee for the opportunity to testify before you today and would be happy to answer any questions that you might have on followup.

[The prepared statement of Alan E. Farstrup follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ALAN E. FARSTRUP, PH.D., ON BEHALF OF THE INTERNATIONAL READING ASSOCIATION

Mr. Chairman and members of the Postsecondary Education subcommittee, I am Alan Farstrup, Director of Research of the International Reading Association. My experience is diverse, encompassing work as a construction laborer, Peace Corps

Volunteer in Afghanistan, secondary school teacher, university professor, and educational researcher. My involvement in reading and literacy includes classroom teaching, teacher education, curriculum development, and research. I bring this experience and perspective to my work as Director of the Research Department at the International Reading Association where I am engaged in efforts directed at encouraging literacy at all levels and in all settings.

The International Reading Association is a professional society of over 60,000 members and 1180 affiliate councils in all 50 states and in 36 nations worldwide. The Association and its members are dedicated to promoting the reading habit by working to improve reading and the teaching of reading through an extensive program of professional publications and conferences, and by working with many multinational organizations to promote literacy at every possible level. Examples of such activities include grants and awards to exceptional teachers of reading, reading researchers and other outstanding leaders whose efforts promote improved levels of literacy. One such project is the sponsorship of a major international literacy award, the International Reading Association Literacy Award, given each year to recognize effective literacy programs or outstanding leaders in world literacy. The US$5,000 IRA Literacy Award is administered by UNESCO as a part of a prestigious series of five internationally recognized and respected literacy awards sponsored by nations and organizations who seek to recognize literacy as a major human issue. The senior award in this series, the Krupskaya Award, is sponsored by the Soviet Union. At this very moment, a short distance from this hearing, the Association is cosponsoring the National celebration of International Literacy Day in conjunction with the Library of Congress and UNESCO.

Illiteracy is not a problem which exists only in developing countries. It is a serious problem in the U.S., a problem which is national in scope and which affects every American citizen in very concrete ways. Illiteracy can interfere with educational progress, with economic productivity, with personal and intellectual fulfillment, with health and with safety. It can be argued that high levels of illiteracy pose a threat to the very security of this nation both at home and abroad. It is a highly complex problem which will not yield to attempts at simple solutions. Sustained effort at many levels is essential if illiteracy is ever to be significantly and permanently reduced.

The United States has been involved in many educational programs aimed at the reduction of illiteracy. The International Education programs authorized by the Higher Education Act are examples of how the United States can contribute to world efforts to combat illiteracy and promote better education. These efforts involve the United States in an arena of ideas which are basic to the preservation of our republic, individual freedom, democracy, and the free enterprise system. Education is an essential element in any plan to promote and defend our national self-interest and literacy is a keystone for effective education. Where education programs are lacking or flawed, freedoms can be lost, anger and frustration can grow, and social unrest may follow. Many countries are carefully controlled and limited educational programs to foster anti-democratic principles. I believe that, where an educated and well-informed citizenry, a populace which reads and has access to books and literature of all kinds, exists such misuses of educational programs are almost always doomed to failure. It has been argued, for example, that had higher levels of education and literacy existed in Central America, many of the social, political, and military problems which we now confront in that tortured region of the world would not have been as serious or menacing as we now find them to be. Literacy in these regions is proving to be an issue which influences important aspects of our own national security.

Many assistance programs have been designed to promote the improvement of post-secondary, university, and post-graduate level scholarly education. While it is certainly important and beneficial to provide support at these advanced levels, programs of assistance are also needed at the basic literacy level. The International Reading Association has submitted recommendations to this subcommittee regarding the Literacy for Democracy Act. This Act is designed to foster the building of national literacy programs within the developing world that link nation-building programs and manpower development programs to programs of education rooted in the democratic tradition. The proposal would create a program designed to school national and provincial level educators of developing countries in how to effectively administer and promote literacy and basic education programs in their own countries. Our proposal outlines a modest program that would be housed at an American university where educators from developing countries would come to study literacy education, human learning, evaluation, economics, human services delivery programs, political science, and related disciplines.

The proposal also involves the development of a positive literacy environment abroad through the encouragement of linkages between business and industry and education in developing countries. The International Reading Association supports this kind of linkage and urges the committee to seek further advice and counsel from groups and individuals from business and industry who could offer a qualified and informed opinion regarding the feasibility of initiating and encouraging such ventures in a developing country. Our primary interest here is to support the idea that well-trained literacy educators and program managers *can* make a difference and that the United States has a positive contribution to make.

One value to the United States for the development of such local capabilities by a developing country is that Third World educators could develop their own materials—without being forced to choose and use the educational materials and technology of another culture, a culture which may promote values not in the best national interest of the developing country itself or of the United States. For example, in a non-democratic country, the central government may seek to control the education of children by having all textbook and workbook material developed by the central government and, therefore, reflect and promote its particular social and political agenda. When such materials are used in another country, these values are made part of the "transplanted" educational program. Such a program would tend to foster values, attitudes, and beliefs not consistent with the development of a free and democratic society. With the creation of locally-based educational programs and industry, developing countries should be more able to generate their own materials and thus exercise some degree of freedom. This freedom and flexibility would reduce dependence on other antithetical political systems and more effectively promote the development of a free and educated society. Thomas Jefferson made the point very well when he declared, "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be" (January 1816).

The third section of the proposal entails the evaluation of how the funds for the Literacy for Democracy program have been spent and the effectiveness of the program in general. In the proposed Act, the Secretary of Education is directed to evaluate the program both on a cost and effectiveness basis and with the aim of providing ongoing information so that the program can be refined and improved.

The International Reading Association proposed and continues to support this activity in recognition of the fact that the United States has historically provided many literacy programs with international implications through the activities of such entities as the Peace Corps and the Agency for International Development. We feel that a different approach needs to be added to complement and build on past as well as existing programs. The approach that is outlined in the proposal it founded on the concept that literacy and basic education must become the responsibility of the developing world and that the United States has an important role in assisting it in assuming this important responsibility. American citizens who work in a number of multinational organizations, who are educational planners, who are teachers, have told the International Reading Association that a program like this one is needed and would make a difference.

Practically speaking, this proposal creates a structure involving the Secretary of Education, the Department of State, and the Agency for International Development working together to identify nations, individuals, and an American institution of higher education that could carry out a cooperative program which trains educators from developing nations to conduct effective literacy programs in their own countries. In all, we believe that this is a modest proposal with great potential. It would strengthen the notion that literacy is an important aspect of American international education programs and that literacy and basic education are essential to the viability of democratic, free societies. It also focusses attention on developing an American school of management of basic literacy programs as a resource to developing countries. It is a challenge; it is also an alternative. Do we want the developing nations of the world teaching their next generations out of textbooks and programs developed to foster particular political and social viewpoints not rooted in the democratic tradition, or will we seek to build on that tradition by fostering literacy in the best sense of that word in the developing nations of this world?

The British statesman, Lord Brougham, made the point very well, "Education makes a people easy to lead but difficult to drive; easy to govern but impossible to enslave." The International Reading Association believes that improving literacy levels around the world is in the best interests of every human being and that such efforts are consistent with the values and ideals of the American people

Mr. FORD. Thank you.
Carol Karsch.

STATEMENT OF CAROL KARSCH, VICE PRESIDENT, JEWISH FEDERATION OF SOUTHERN ARIZONA, ACCOMPANIED BY SYLVIA CAMPOY

Ms. KARSCH. Mr. Ford, and committee, I am Carol Karsch. I am the vice president of the Jewish Federation of Southern Arizona, which is an umbrella of synagogues, agencies and about 20,000 Jewish constituents. I am here to speak to title VI, but a very specific part.

The Jewish community is well known for its support of education and certainly the programs of higher learning that have been described today—there is one part of title VI which is in section 602 which has gone far from the mark and is incompatible with the legislation and the intent of the programs that you are funding in title VI.

Two years ago the Tucson Unified School District in Arizona, which is the largest district in the State, ousted a Middle East outreach program because of its anti-Israeli bias. The authority for this program comes from title VI.

I would like to introduce you to Sylvia Campoy, a school official whom her district sent because of their strong feelings about this issue so she can be available for your questions on this issue.

In 1981, under a grant from title VI, the Near Eastern Center at the University of Arizona was involved in a program of exhibits, films, materials on the Middle East in the public schools. The programs were both in elementary and high school level, probably from about the fifth grade up.

While the purpose expressed in title VI in international programs is to acquire knowledge and strengthen cooperation between nations, the implementation of this program, the content of the programs, has been just the opposite.

There has been a markedly anti-Israeli content among much of the programs. Again, although title VI establishes the program, oil companies, Exxon, Mobil, Standard Oil of California, largely, and Persian Gulf countries, Arab organizations, are contributors to the program.

The oil companies give significant dollars. In Arizona half the budget was oil money although the program was always described as federally funded. We are familiar with the massive public relations of Persian Gulf countries.

This public relations has really spilled into the precollege level into the elementary and high schools but they go a step further. Rather than being satisfied to just promote the Arab image, they have taken to downgrading the Israeli image.

In the University of Arizona these materials were very graphic. The Department of Education and the alleged congressional mandate becomes the unwitting catalyst for allowing this to take place. Today five major Arab lobby organizations vigorously support federally funded outreach programs.

It is obvious why. It is certainly in their interest to be able to put pro-Arab, and I must say anti-Israeli materials in the hands of teachers and children but in the name of the university, in the name of a congressional mandate is really quite an advantage rather than the organization itself doing that effort in its own name.

We had such graphic examples because I come to you not as an expert, I come as a leader of my federation and I come as a mother.

I have three children in the school district which has this program. We have had experience over 4 years of talking about—we are the users, the recipients. When teachers attended workshops and participated in these outreach programs, they expressed, you go into the library and you find a bibliography dominated by ARAMCO, Exxon, Mobil materials, by a slew of Arab organizations and almost every Arab country. The materials are not propaganda materials coming from specifically vested organizations, but were in our case selected primarily by a yardstick which was highly political, fictional accounts which were highly critical of Israel and a number of books which more or less portray Israelis as usurpers of other lands and so forth.

The books are not an issue, because they are passive. They can sit on a shelf. It is the use of the imprimatur of the university which is so influential with a social studies teacher, with a library, when that teacher is looking for information and has already access to it he is very trusting of the university and he has a right to be.

If he would go to Mobil and Exxon and get these from them he would know what he has but there is certainly an impressive impact when a university sponsors such a program and when a coordinator or selected academic with this program have a point of view.

I must say in Middle East studies because of the nature of things you heard this morning it is very controversial, so you would often get a representative of the university or selected academics who do have points of view. The question was was Tucson an isolated case and I am happy to tell you that although the letter hasn't arrived, it is posed today. The three major Jewish defense organizations, ADL, American Jewish Committee, and American Jewish Congress, along with the NJCRAC representing 111 Jewish communities across the country will file a letter documenting abuses across the country at several of these Middle East outreach programs which really validate the Tucson experience.

The Tucson example was a lead program in a national network of 10 or 11 federally funded Middle East programs. In 1981 when the officials met for the first time, we realized that the anti-Israel tone of the University of Arizona Program was reflective of a very dominant and rather widespread emphasis among all of these programs.

I think what I have describe to you represents more than an administrative lapse either at the level of the Department of Education or the university. The notion is critically flawed. The concept of outreach as opposed to the reading programs, as opposed to the postgraduate language programs which are so critical to our national interest, the outreach program, which takes information on an area like the Middle East, moves off the campus and into an elementary or high school has a critical flaw.

It is authorized under title VI, but it has the outside interests. It is incompatible with the spirit of the legislation, and the flaw is in the idea that you can assign a representative of a university or academics to transmit information to students and teachers by such a narrow mechanism.

In our experience, the mechanism resulted in an inevitable monopolization of a viewpoint and the viewpoint at the University of Arizona was pro-Arab, but it could have been pro-Israel. It was anti-Israel in this case. It could have been anti-Arab.

We don't feel that it should have the quality of either of those things and I would ask you as you review this program in light of what I have described as really a firsthand account and experience, and also in light of the written statement which we have prepared for you, whether the congressional intent as it is stated in the purpose is expressed through these programs and whether they are really in our national interest.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Carol Karsch follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CAROL KARSCH ON BEHALF OF THE JEWISH FEDERATION OF SOUTHERN ARIZONA

The Tucson Unified School District, the largest school district in Arizona, found it necessary in 1983 to expel a university based outreach program on the Middle East, funded by the United States Department of Education, because of its anti-Israel bias and propagandistic nature.

The outreach program was established by a grant from the Department of Education purportedly carrying out the Congressional intent of Title VI of the Higher Education Act which calls for "promoting mutual understanding and cooperation between nations."

In addition to federal funds, significant support for this outreach program came from major oil companies and Persian Gulf countries. However, the legitimacy of the program was taken for granted by educators because of its federal sponsorship and ostensible Congressional mandate.

The Jewish Federation of Southern Arizona, of which I am a Vice President, initiated opposition to the Middle East Outreach Program four years ago when concerned parents and teachers first experienced the harm of propagandistic information which seemed to have official sponsorship. In the course of these four years, it has become apparent that there is a critical flaw in the program's conception and implementation.

A basic flaw lies in the assumption that educational purposes are served by a mechanism whereby a university representative or selected academics could prescribe for pre-college teachers the academic view on a controversial and emotional dispute such as the Israel/Arab conflict.

In our experience, the transmission of information through such a mechanism produces an inevitable monopolization of a given political point of view and subverts the traditional methods of textbook selection based on the free marketplace of ideas.

In the Tucson case, the view turned out to be anti-Israel but it may well have been anti-Arab. It should be neither. In testifying before you I ask you to consider, in light of the following case history and discussion, whether programs such as described are in the public interest.

I

Tucson, Arizona is a fast growing sunbelt city with a metropolitan population of approximately 500,000 and an estimated 20,000 Jews. As organized Jewish communities go, Tucson's is active and respected. In February of 1981, the Jewish Federation of Southern Arizona learned that the University of Arizona was sponsoring off-campus programs and publications on the Middle East. A journalist inquired about the funding of a University produced Media Briefing Packet which, upon closer analysis, contained glaring inaccuracies and featured a cover map of Middle Eastern countries in which only Israel had no designated capital. Outreach materials in the public schools took the form of exhibits on Saudi Arabia, a mobile book van, and films. A parent reported that his child's fifth grade classroom had viewed seven films on the Middle East which glorified Islam and the Arab world while not mentioning Israel. One film used a series of maps to depict the political geography of the region. Israel was notably absent. An eleventh grade student also wrote an emotional letter about the hostile atmosphere in her classroom, and her particular discomfort, following the showing of a pro-PLO film.

Another disparate thread of the story came to light in November, 1980 when a Tucson legal periodical published the articles of incorporation of a non-profit organization called the Middle East Outreach Council (MEOC). Designed to disseminate information on the Middle East throughout the country and coordinate eleven federally funded Middle East outreach centers, MEOC was incorporated under Arizona law and headquartered at the University of Arizona. What possible connection could this national network have to the materials promoted in Tucson public schools?

The Jewish Federation initiated an informal inquiry which revealed that the outreach program was located in the Near Eastern Center of the University of Arizona's Oriental Studies Department. Although established by a federal grant, the Near Eastern Center received significant support from major oil companies which, in addition to cash contributions, donated professional-looking books, films, and pamphlets for distribution to the public. [2] In its federal grant proposal, the Center declared that its outreach program to schools was the centerpiece of activity during the allocation period and was organized "in collaboration with Arizona's largest school district." Further inquiries showed that the program's coordinator was not a faculty member but an individual hired by the Near Eastern Center to conduct outreach programs for educators, businessmen, and the media. It apppeared from the grant proposal that the coordinator was a central figure as a source of information as well as persuasion, particularly in the capacity of "University representative."

A February, 1982 Tucson teacher's workshop, organized by the outreach coordinator, proved this assumption true and exposed the program's anti-Israel bias. In what was to be a general cultural and historical background on the Middle East, the coordinator's ideological viewpoint predominated. Leading off with a film which ardently called for a better presentation of the Arab American, the coordinator went on to promote certain newspapers as trustworthy and discredit others as unreliable. The coordinator told participants that one popular novel was "rubbish," but repeatedly touted another as an excellent teaching tool. The resource library stocked multiple copies or class sets of "preferred" items for loan to classroom teachers. These choices had a salient common denominator: a harshly critical treatment of Israel. Two Jewish teachers who participated in the workshop reported their frustration with the highly dogmatic presentation. They were also troubled that, on the whole, their colleagues appeared receptive to information which they trusted as the academic perspective on a complex international issue. The workshop had one added angle. In order to qualify for a honorarium, teachers were assigned "homework." Between the two Saturday morning sessions, each returning participant prepared a lesson plan based on the coordinator's select packet of materials. Dominating the array of bibliographies, reprints, and pamphlets were books on the Arab image in America, promotion of an Exxon film series, and an account of the Middle East conflict from a passionate Arab point of view.

Beyond a parochial role as a spokesman for Middle East outreach in Southern Arizona, the coordinator was a national funding agent for the MEOC. Could the Arizona program be prototypical? Did the incorporation of a national organization to network materials foreshadow a significant nationwide propoganda effort under the cover of government and university endorsement?

The Federation decided to take a closer look. When Jewish leaders approached the Chairman of Oriental Studies to discuss the administration of the program and to see the materials, the response was that since outreach was federally funded, authority for it "rested with Washington." But he assured the Jewish leaders that 1) the program couldn't possibly be propagandistic because, under federal funding provisions, political advocacy was illegal; and 2) the materials themselves were endorsed by a scholarly organization known as MESA (Middle East Studies Association) whose credentials were beyond reproach.

Inquiries about MESA with Jewish academics across the country, however, led to a very different assessment of its objectivity and scholarliness. Ostensibly, MESA is a 1500-member scholarly association comprised primarily of researchers, academics, and students specializing in the Middle East. However, according to several academics closely associated with the organization (who usually spoke on condition of anonymity), MESA had begun to evidence increasing politicization and pro-Arab bias during the late 1970's.

Justification by university officials for the program based on U.S. government sponsorship proved equally troublesome. When the Federation filed a complaint with the U.S. Department of Education (DOE), officials there quickly bounced the issue back to Tucson. The DOE declared that all substantive review of outreach activities rested with the University. Alarmed by a politically loaded program with no apparent accountability, the Federation took the matter to the University of Arizona President. He concluded that all university functions, without exception, were subject to high academic standards for form and content. He requested that the Jewish community document its objections in detail.

In response, the Federation gathered a group of volunteers to evaluate a sampling of materials, including items promoted as instructional and those available in class sets. An initial examination of the collection, which purported to be a broad treatment of the Middle East, revealed an emphasis on the Arab-Israeli conflict and a decided pro-Arab bias. The bibliography contained an overwhelming presence of films and publications by oil companies, Arab governments, and Arab organizations. A closer critique showed a number of books and articles designed for direct classroom use to be blatantly propagandistic.

As the excerpts below demonstrate, the theme running through many of these materials is that Israel is not a legitimate sovereign entity in the Middle East. While Arab nationalism is fully and emotionally justified, Zionism and Israel are, on the whole, ignored and, when discussed, are cast as unnatural intrusions into the history and politics of the Arab world.

The Arab World: A Handbook for Teachers by Ayad al-Quazzaz stated:

> The United Nations on November 29th, 1947 recommended a crazy patchwork partition dividing Palestine into an Arab and Jewish state. The latter would have had nearly equal numbers of Arab and Jewish citizens. The Palestinians wanted their country undivided, much like the woman in the story of Solomon who did not want her child cut in two to satisfy another woman's claim to the boy.

It went on to conclude:

> The Partition was unfair....
>
> Most U.S. foreign policy experts opposed the partition as unjust, contrary to principles of self-determination and against U.S. interests in the Middle East, but domestic pressures caused President Truman to support the plan. Textbooks about U.S. history might investigate the U.S. role in the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict.
>
> Most textbooks state that when the state of Israel proclaimed its independence on May 15, 1948, many Arab armies attacked it. Knowledgeable people would say, rather, that the Palestinians were fighting in self-defense against an organized attack to drive the unarmed civilian population of Palestine out of its own country.

A Global History of Man by Lefton Stavrianos, stated:

> The Arabs also opposed violently the creation of a Jewish 'national home' in Palestine.... The Arabs are not willing today to step aside for any newcomers, whether Jews

or anyone else.

Not only textbooks but fictional accounts further blurred the distinction between fact and opinion. My Enemy, My Brother, a novel about the establishment of Israel, was a favorite outreach selection. In addition to local promotion, the coordinator unqualifyingly recommended it in a national MEOC newsletter along with the previously quoted Arab World Handbook.

In My Enemy, My Brother, young Jewish Holocaust survivors trek to Palestine, join the Irgun, and become brutal killers--in effect, Nazis. The author invokes Nazi affectations (a Hitler salute) and language ("lebensraum" and "final solution" to "the Arab business") attributing such imagery, ideas, and actions to his Jewish characters.

The local Federation volunteers were not the only persons who took issue with the outreach materials. Two national Jewish organizations, the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee, had previously evaluated several of the materials under review in Tucson and their opinions reinforced local concern. Also, University of California Middle East scholar William Brinner criticized the outreach bibliography as ignoring the ethnic diversity of the Middle East. In a letter to the Jewish Federation in November 1981 he wrote:

> According to the Center, therefore, the Middle East began with Islam--with a few unimportant antecedents--and

> consists today of Arabs, some Turks and Iranians, and troublesome Israelis whose right to be there is questionable. Israel certainly doesn't exist as a political entity in the same way that the other states do.

In early 1982, the Jewish Federation asked Professor Brinner to review a sampling of materials contained in the resource library. In response, Brinner described the selections submitted to him "to be very poor in quality and almost uniformly conforming to a single pattern of bias." He added:

> The central position given to the Arab-Israeli conflict, as well as the oversimplified and biased presentation of this complex problem in almost all of the material, makes me very suspicious of the motives of those running the program.

Even though the Federation was able to establish the questionable nature of the material provided by the University, the U.S. Department of Education continued to hold the key-- federal funding. The Jewish Federation thus asked government officials for an investigation into the documented abuses before approving a new grant cycle. Arizona's Senator Dennis DeConcini and then Congressman James McNulty convened a meeting in Washington with Jewish Federation and Education Department representatives to explore the matter. Assistant Secretary Edward Elmendorf notified the group assembled that the re-funding process had already been completed, the grant approved, but that the peer review committee, charged to advise the Secretary of Education on disbursal of funds, had not been privy to documentation of the community's objection. When pressed to explain this puzzling omission, the Assistant Secretary said he simply "had not thought of it." His position, restated in a subsequent letter from then Secretary of Education Terrell Bell, was that federal regulations precluded sharing this evidence with the peer reviewers. In reality, the Department of Education had ignored a responsible complaint. It had relied on ambiguous regulations to withhold information from the peer review committee which, as a result, recommended re-funding without knowledge of express local concerns. Despite two years of rising disaffection by users of the program and possible misuse of federal funds, the U.S. Department of Education did not discern that it had a problem.

Meanwhile, at the University of Arizona, the Near Eastern Center Director offered to discard objectionable materials ("throw them in the wastepaper basket") or to have the Federation suggest books with views contrary to those advanced in the Center library. The Jewish community did not want a censorship role and could not envision the University as a purveyer of propaganda, from whatever side, to educators and students.

In May, 1982, complying with the University's request, the Federation submitted a detailed report of its position, including book reviews, statements from parents and teachers, and a critical memorandum by Professor Brinner. Well received by the Chairman of Oriental Studies as a "thoughtful community response," the report led to a temporary closure of the outreach program pending an investigative review. When outreach activities resumed in the fall of 1982, however, without an inquiry or change, a serious conflict between the Jewish community and the University loomed large. The Oriental Studies Department, in an abrupt reversal, took the position that the Federation complaint about the outreach program constituted a groundless assault on academic freedom.

In early 1983 a newly appointed University of Arizona President proposed an outside panel to evaluate the outreach program, including its operation, materials, and effect on school children. The panel met in August, 1983 for a weekend at the prestigious Arizona Inn near the University. After closed-door deliberations, the panel issued a report stating, in part, the following:

> It is not surprising that several of us faulted one or another of these writings as being at least partially inaccurate or lacking adequate depth.... Although certain passages in the works reviewed might be seen as expressing particular points of view, we find no systematic pattern of bias in these works.

Various interpretations of the panel report were inevitable. The one preferred by professors in the Oriental Studies Department was that the Near Eastern Center had been cleared of the charges of bias and propaganda. The Federation, however, focused attention on the panel's findings of deficiencies in oversight and library holdings. It understood that the problems which the Jewish community had brought to public light were being addressed in terms of improper supervision and insufficient quality. University of Arizona President Henry Koffler stressed that the panel report was not a vote of confidence for the Near Eastern Center. In an address to the Faculty Senate on October 3rd, 1983, he stated: "Although it is reassuring to learn that there has been no bias in the program, a report which points to defects in our work is scarcely a vindication of the Center."

The Jewish Federation did not feel that the report was a victory either. The written findings appeared intended as a compromise which averaged out various positions of the panel members. The seeming unanimity was undermined by a dissenting statement from Professor Nahum Glatzer that his concurrence in the report was not to be construed as an endorsement for the outreach program which, as he later wrote, he believed to be a "waste of effort." Furthermore, it is difficult to square the final panel report with the earlier strongly stated opinion by Professor William Brinner, a panel member, that there was bias in the materials.

Most significant to the outreach dispute, however, was a disclaimer by the panelists of expertise in pre-collegiate studies:

> We are university professors concerned with the study of the Middle East. None of us has had experience teaching at pre-college levels. We claim no expertise in determining appropriate Middle Eastern studies curricula for high school, middle school or elementary school students.

The panel refused to deal with the outreach program's "effect on children," yet this question had been an overriding one from the outset. Similarly, the University President, in turning down a Jewish community request to include an expert in pedagogy on the panel, wrote to the President of the Jewish Federation on January 18, 1983: "The question of how materials are used in class seems to me to be a matter for the schools and the teachers to decide." These words would prove to be prophetic.

In contrast to the equivocation and buck-passing by the federal government, the University, and the panel, actions by the Tucson Unified School District (TUSD) were decisive. The District had, as could be expected, assumed jurisdiction on the matter of effect upon its students. In December of 1982, TUSD, which had been following the issue for some time, was alerted by the Jewish Federation to the fact that teachers were being recruited for a Middle East Outreach course. A letter to teachers from the outreach coordinator promoting the course suggested district co-sponsorship, although no such activity had been authorized. When an initial inquiry into the course turned up other serious irregularities, the Superintendent launched a full investigation. In an internal memo dated September 13, 1983, the Special Assistant for Compliance advised the Superintendent of Schools:

> There appears to be significant bias in the operation of the Near Eastern outreach program of a decisively anti-Israel and pro-Arab character. Materials are selectively promoted, including some financed by major oil companies (Exxon Corporation and Mobil Corporation) who maintain significant business interests in the Middle East and have openly supported Arab political positions on the Middle East conflict.
>
> In addition, and clearly more far reaching in significance, it appears that students and teachers without extensive background in this subject are vulnerable to misinformation which will almost certainly color their understandings of the subject matter. [3]

The memorandum concluded that "in general, the outreach program appears to constitute unauthorized activities within the District which are of a highly political nature." On September 16, 1983, the TUSD issued a press release which announced its findings and stated that participation in the Near East Center outreach program at the University of Arizona "could encourage a violation" of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

As a result of its investigation, the School District publicly disassociated itself from the Near Eastern Center and filed a letter with the U.S. Department of Education stating that the federal grant application, which had cited collaboration with the Tucson Unified School District, was in error. Without TUSD, Middle East outreach to Arizona schools effectively ceased. The University established an interdisciplinary faculty committee to oversee the Near Eastern Center. In December, 1983 President Koffler accepted the Center Director's resignation and later that of the outreach coordinator. The process in Tucson, from the first evidence of anti-Israel propaganda to the forceful School District disassociation, had involved a period in excess of two and one-half years.

II

The Middle East Outreach program in Tucson classrooms began well before publication of the University of Arizona Media Packet. Its more precise starting point was 1971 when the Middle East Studies Association embarked on an "Image Study" research project, culminating in the promotion of specific curriculum materials for classroom use. The rationale for the Image Study was that students bring with them a "set of mind" from high school which limits the possibilities of college teaching. [4] To correct this situation MESA appointed a special committee to select materials which present the Middle East properly, i.e., from MESA's perspective. In this way, MESA members thought, a more appropriate mind set would be created at the pre-college level.

The espoused objective of the Image Study was to screen textbooks for anti-Arab bias. Its intellectual roots can be found in the movement, stirred by writings of Columbia University Professor Edward Said (who is also a member of the PLO's National Council), to reform the Western notion of "Orientalism."[5] Said had criticized the stereotypic portrayal of the Arabs in literature as backward nomads atop camels, a complaint with validity.

Yet another factor was at work in the MESA Image Committee. The Arab image builders smarted at what they perceived to be an American-Israeli technocratic kinship. This, they believed, was reinforced by positive textbook portrayal of Israel as a modern, industrialized state. Thus references to Israeli democracy or agricultural achievement were cited as an unfair "ranking" of Israel above the Arab countries. In effect, the noble ambition to shatter the Arab stereotype was transformed into a zero sum game. It had the dramatic effect of building the Arab image at the direct expense of the Israeli one.

The Image Committee surveyed eighty books and rejected most as inadequate and erroneous. Those favorable ones were recommended on a list of "superior books for the U.S." MESA's selections, which were at sharp variance with evaluations by Jewish organizations, formed the core of the University of Arizona outreach portfolio. MESA's goal to mold the attitudes of American students was being realized-- a decade after the Image Study, an outreach coordinator was implementing MESA curiculum recommendations in a large Southwestern school district.

We might ask: how did a society of scholars come to rectify an image? Or, the deeper question: how did MESA grow into a political advocacy group for the Arab cause?

In 1977, Islamic scholar Bernard Lewis wrote about growing partisanship in the field of Middle East Studies:

> Because of the nature and magnitude of the issues involved and because of the great wealth at the disposal of some of the participants, the Middle East has become a favorite stomping ground for ideologists of various complexions. These engage in battles whose tactics and objectives have little to do with either the realities of Middle Eastern life or the discipline of Middle Eastern scholarship. They are sometimes linked with political allegiances and interests, and can seriously distort the life and growth of an academic department. [6]

There are strong politicization forces at work in Middle East Studies today which help explain, although not justify, the growth of such an environment. While many ethnic minorities make up the Middle East, the dominant population is Moslem. Consequently, study of the region has become virtually synonymous with study of Islam. Like their colleagues in other fields, students of the Arab world develop an identification with the cultures which they study. Once inside the field, a second dynamic is introduced. The Arab states control access to archives, libraries, research facilities, and even residence permits, access which forms the basis of scholarly work for area specialists. [7] But Arab countries do not hesitate to arbitrarily deny research privileges. Accordingly, Middle East scholars carefully avoid the expression of views friendly to Israel which could jeopardize their funding or sources of information. Given this atmosphere, students interested in Zionism or Israel gravitate to the more congenial disciplines of political science or international relations, leaving Middle East Studies to the Arabists.

By 1980, the field of Middle East Studies was ripe for exploitation and propagation of a monopolized viewpoint. All that was needed was a mechanism, operating through universities and clothed with federal authority, to establish direct contact with educators and serve as a repository for MESA, Arab government, and oil company materials. For this agenda, the Middle East Outreach Council (MEOC), the national network which was incorporated in Arizona in 1980, provided the ideal vehicle. It established a central coordinating committee, closely linked to MESA, to generate financial support for the individual centers while facilitating exchange of materials nationwide.

Once the U.S. government had initiated federal sponsorship of outreach programs, the creation of a national network was predictable. By the late 1970's eleven federally funded outreach programs operated across the country, all housed in Middle East Centers of respected universitites. [8]

MEOC began its work in earnest in early 1981 at a conference held at the Wingspread Foundation in Racine, Wisconsin. During this three day meeting, the MEOC brought together media and Arab organizational representatives with oil company representatives and outreach coordinators. Mobil Foundation and Exxon Corporation contributed to the financial costs of the conference but that was not all: their executives were active participants both behind the scenes and on the formal program. Exxon exhibited a new film on Saudi Arabia and announced production of 100 copies, to be accompanied by a teacher's handbook, for distribution to outreach centers. The Mobil

International Affairs Advisor addressed the outreach coordinators on the topic: "Working With and Through the Oil Companies."

Federally funded outreach is ostensibly non-political yet the Wingspread Conference evidenced a strident anti-Israel tone and promoted materials heavily geared to Arab image building, with its concomitant delegitimation of Israel. A Jewish participant at Wingspread, in a July 1983 letter to the Jewish Federation of Southern Arizona, wrote: "I came away from the conference with a profound sense of alarm that the outreach programs were not universally adhering to the academic impartiality and objectivity required of federally funded university-based programs."

The attendee noted that the only references to Israel during the program were highly critical statements by speakers and that "discussions centered on Arab interests and concerns, to the exclusion of other aspects of the Middle East." Wingspread appeared to be a guidepost for future activities of the MEOC. In retrospect, there were also indications that Tucson, Arizona would be the testing ground for methods and materials. The University of Arizona coordinator figured prominently in the MEOC as its principal founder, organizer of the Wingspread Conference, treasurer, and key fund-raiser with the oil companies. Money to finance coordinators from various centers to the Wingspread conference was funneled through the University of Arizona. In the year following the Wingspread Conference, a massive recruitment targeted Tucson educators. Teachers and librarians were personally canvassed and solicited to both utilize materials and participate in outreach courses. A computerized mailing list of 500 names, cross-referenced by district, school, grade level and course description was used for solicitation, although strictly without authorization by any of the school districts. The University of Arizona outreach program hosted a Teachers Workshop, an International Seminar on the Arabian Peninsula, and distributed its Media Packet to other Middle East Outreach Centers.

The MEOC mechanism, in sum, institutionalized a network linking outreach personnel to elementary and secondary school teachers and children. It opened the way for manipulation of the educational process.

III

As a case study of intrusion by vested interests into the public domain, the Tucson episode was instructive. It showed that a university could be exploited by those with an ideology to promote. It showed that public educational institutions in this country are vulnerable to propaganda packaged as instructional programming.

The University was used. Its facilities were used, its entrée to the community was used, and its prestige was appropriated. The Middle East Outreach Program did not even resemble a search for truth or genuine scholarly pursuit. The activities took place in the shadow of the University and were not subject to, nor did they meet, its standards.

Influential pro-Arab advocates have argued that the Tucson Jewish community's objections to outreach activities violated "academic freedom." But as stated by Professor Boris Kozolchyk of the University of Arizona College of Law and a Tucson Jewish leader, the true issue was not one of constitutional law (e.g., freedom of speech) but of public property law. It was his contention that what characterizes a university's academic freedom is not the presence of one but many voices on subjects as controversial as the Arab-Israel conflict. Therefore, to use the University's name, facilities, and aura of objectivity in order to present a given point of view or to improve an image, no matter how well intentioned the improvement, is to engage in an unlawful appropriation of public property. The Jewish Federation's objection to outreach activities in no way prevented free expression. This objection, as Professor Kozolchyk stated, focused on the transformation of the meaning of "university" once it had abandoned its traditional quarters and re-emerged as an outreach coordinator instructing high school and elementary school teachers on what books or materials the "University" program recommended. The outreach program was no more entitled to use the University's imprimatur as a means of claiming automatic public acceptance than a private book publisher or public relations agency. Most importantly, the university doctrine of academic freedom is not applicable to elementary education. Citizens entrust to elected school boards the power to determine appropriateness of textbooks and teaching methods. Teachers and administrators are obliged, in their transmission of information and values to children, to adhere to the principles established by vested authorities. If a governing board cannot relinquish this time honored role to its own educators, it surely will not waive its mandated trust in favor of a federally sponsored outreach coordinator. Academic freedom protections were never meant to cover intrusion into an elementary or a high school classroom. In Tucson, assertions to the contrary were poised to deflect attention from the issues and impede critical evaluation.

Arab propagandists astutely perceived the value of appropriating the University name and have actively worked to insure continued federal funding. The Washington Report, a publication of the pro-Arab American Education Trust, as well as a newsletter of the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee, carried progress reports of the Tucson case, with versions of facts intended to advance their goals. The Palestine Human Rights Campaign, in its December, 1983 newsletter, pronounced "Academic Freedom and Campus Outreach" to be a priority for 1984. And the Aramco-backed "Americans for Middle East Understanding" continued to press the case in its May-June, 1985 issue of The Link. Arab advocate Paul Findley, (best known as the "ex-Congressman from Springfield, Illinois") was more personally connected: during and following the Tucson Unified School District's investigation, he contacted the Assistant Superintendent with questions about the District's intentions while his aide accused the District of violations of academic freedom.

One barrier in countering the specious academic freedom argument, and in exposing the propaganda value which Arab interests derive from federally funded outreach, is the reluctance of academics to speak openly about the problem. Professor Ruth Wisse captured the danger of such timidity in the context of the general reluctance by professors to speak out for Israel:

> The attitude of faculty to this corruption of the academic enterprise reflects the difficulty of countering a campaign of delegitimation. Liberal professors, with their laudable commitment to intellectual freedom, see no reason why the Arab cause should not receive as much play as the Israeli cause. ... But as long as the Arab cause remains the destruction of the state of Israel, the elimination of a neighbor state, the academy that bends to this bias gives license to intentions of genocide. [9]

The United States Department of Education, too, failed to meet its minimum responsibility to the public. From the initial inquiry, the bureaucracy committed its energy to protecting the outreach program and was not responsive to a serious allegation of abuse in the management of federal funds. In the face of findings of bias and the protests of a major School District, the Department adopted a posture of normalcy.

The reality was that in 1983 federal funds could not be used for the purposes allocated since the client refused the services. A bizarre spiral of recriminations resulted. Outreach personnel ignored the official District position and distributed materials to teachers and librarians; school officials responded with a sharp reminder to their staff about the investigative findings of bias in the operation of the outreach program; the Oriental Studies Department countered with a further letter to District teachers and librarians attacking the school officials. The Department of Education kept those checks coming. Where is the legality, let alone the intellectual honesty, in this? How ironic for a government whose administration is expressly committed to preserving the autonomy of local institutions to so disregard the considered opinions of school district authorities.

Officials in the Department of Education have expressed "increased sensitivity" as a result of the Tucson conflict. Can we expect that, in the future, peer reviewers who advise the Secretary of Education will be entitled to the opinions of consumers as well as administrators of outreach programs? The recently released 1985 federal regulations stipulate, interestingly, that "applicants proposing outreach activities in cooperation with elementary and secondary schools are encouraged to provide evidence of a formal agreement which describes the nature of such cooperation." [10] This clause indicates that officials recognize the problems thrust upon the Tucson Unified School District were significant. However, it provides little assurance that future problems will not recur.

That the economics of the oil glut have reduced the scale of danger, as described in the preceding pages, is unmistakable. But politics and oil are a volatile mixture and things can change again very rapidly. Moreover, the dollars sufficient to fuel Middle East outreach are still modest in the context of Saudi "good will" funds or oil company public relations budgets. The fundamental question remains: are government sponsored outreach programs in the public interest when they involve emotional and deeply conflictive political issues? The Arab lobby, which sees its interests well served by federally funded Middle East outreach, would swiftly invoke "academic freedom" if critics challenged the funding. The real issue is, rather, whether it is in the best interests of American pre-collegiate education to permit the transformation of the classroom into a propaganda battleground. Evidence from Tucson supports the argument that it is not and that the Department of Education acts contrary to the best interests of the United States in refusing to distance itself from a propagandistic function. If a campaign designed to change public opinion and future Middle East policy is aimed at American school children, the Tucson experience indicates that there are means to challenge it.

ENDNOTES

1. See Steven Emerson, The American House of Saud (Franklin Watts, New York:1985).

2. A fact finding report to the University of Arizona President in September, 1983 documented gifts to the Near Eastern Center outreach program between June, 1982 and June, 1983 of $16,300 from Aramco, Exxon, Mobil Foundation and Standard Oil of California.

3. Tucson Unified School District Report, September 13, 1983.

4. William Griswald, The Image of the Middle East in Secondary School Textbooks. Colorado State University, 1975.

5. Edward Said, Orientalism (Gantheen Books, New York:1978).

6. Bernard Lewis, "The State of Middle East Studies," American Scholar, vol. 48, no. 3 (Summer, 1979), p. 375.

7. See Fredelle Speigel, "The State of Middle East Studies", The Jerusalem Quarterly (Summer, 1984) pp. 50-51.

8. The National Defense Education Act of 1958 established area study centers in three critical regions of the world: Latin America, Asia, and Middle East. The programs were later subsumed under Title VI of the Higher Education Act of 1965. The goal was to strengthen United States expertise, particularly via language training, in order to improve American diplomacy. Outreach programs were a development of the 1970's when federal regulations mandated that 15% of area study activities be directed outside the university to business, media, and educators. The fixed percentage outreach requirement was recinded by Department of Education regulations of 1980 but the concept of outreach remained a salient criterion for grant competition. See also Gary S. Schiff, Middle East Centers at Selected American Universities (unpublished report to the American Jewish Committee, 1981).

9. Ruth R. Wisse, "The Delegitimation of Israel," Commentary (July, 1982), p. 31.

10. U.S. Dept. of Education, National Resource Center Program and Foreign Language & Area Studies Fellowships Program, "Application Notice for New Projects for Fiscal Year 1985", October 9, 1984 (CEDA No. 84.015).

Mr. Ford. How do you propose to change section 602?

Ms. Karsch. If the flaw is in establishing a mechanism, there is a question personally in my mind whether you can change it by added guidelines. This is really something for the committee to sort out.

I am speaking specifically to the Middle East area where the influx of the Arab oil interests is so strong and the availability of material so strong that I think it is a very—it would be very difficult to safeguard against it.

The mechanism has replaced in some way the free market place at the local level for schools to select textbooks and make decisions in their own way, the way they did 15 years ago, before the outreach mechanism was established, because the outreach mechanism grew out of the language programs.

The language programs have been very good. Anything you do at the university level is very good. The aberration came when we began to vest the universities to give the academic perspective to teachers, so if you are asking me, Congressman, would a minor administrative adjustment protect us against this, I really don't think so.

Mr. Ford. What is it you want us to say?

Ms. Karsch. I would ask the committee when it reviews the Higher Education Act to see whether the Middle East outreach programs specifically are in our interest. If they are not, then they should be reconsidered.

Mr. Ford. Well, I have to tell you that as one member of this committee I would object very strenuously to any committee of the Congress trying to go into a college and examine the content of the material they were developing so long as it—what you have described to me is—laying aside your concern about subjective analysis of what was produced—is exactly what we intended them to do.

Now, if the people handling the program, the academics, are not in your opinion doing it in a responsible way, that is where your anger should be directed, not to try to write limitations around this that would get us into the business, for example—the University of Michigan is in my area and the University of Michigan has a center, a Southeast Asia Center, Slavic Studies Center.

I would like to see a class in that one because I was born and raised on the west side of Detroit and if you want to see infinite prejudice and disagreement, you want to get a Ukranian and a Pole talking to each other or a Czech and a Pole and you can go on and on.

I would like to see you put something together that you could redistribute and not get a fight in Detroit out of one group or another. East Asian Center—now, that is a dandy, particularly since it is located in Michigan where we have everybody in the country say we are prejudiced already.

Center for Near Eastern Studies—that could get into the same thing you are talking about. African Studies Center at Michigan State. I feel sorry for them if the material that ends up in the public schools describing South Africa is in any way sympathetic to the objectives of the white Government of South Africa.

Now, if we start down this kind of a road of saying to the Secretary you should look into what it is that they are producing, that goes in a direction that is just so repugnant to me that even if they were teaching communism, nazism—I can say this with some immunity because for 2 years I have had an avowed Nazi klansman nominated by the other party against me, so I have been subjected nationally to quite a campaign for this business, I have no love for these people and their followers in this country, but I am unwilling to have us inject ourselves once we give money to a school to set up a center into what kind of materials they develop.

I would be more upset if I found out that because somebody objected to the content of material developed that the center decided to waste the money and not disseminate.

Let me take you just a little further. On this committee there is a member of the committee who has very strong feelings about the materials developed by a foundation that was put together by the National Education Association, because the National Education Association is perceived by many people to be a very political organization in terms of party politics. Therefore, it seems natural to assume if the conspiracy theory is in place at all in your mind that the materials they produce are not going to be sympathetic to your particular political philosophy and we have had some dandy fights on this committee trying to stop that foundation from disseminating classroom material that professional teachers are putting together, making available to schools that want to buy it.

This goes on all the time in academics. I suppose, as a matter of fact, with a little sophistication, we could find for you pro-Israel and anti-Israel, pro-Arab and anti-Arab programs all over this country, depending on the time and the circumstances.

I am still smarting from 1958 when the National Defense Education Act was here, and members of the committee, two members of this committee were attacked on the street outside here with acid because they fought against the idea that all teachers and professors at colleges and universities would have to sign an oath, "I am not now nor have ever been a member of the Communist Party or any Communist sympathizing organization." That recently—that is in the period that people refer to as McCarthyism.

While I am sympathetic with your concerns, I don't think that the Government through the aegis of providing Federal aid, has any business in the content at any level in education of what is taught to the children. I opposed Mr. Hatch's amendment unsuccessfully, to prevent the teaching of secular humanism in the classrooms because I don't have the slightest notion what secular humanism is. Jerry Falwell knows that secular humanism is. That is everybody who disagrees with him.

So I guess I am not a secular humanist. I don't know if I ever met one, I don't know if I would know one if I saw him. I am worst off than the Supreme Court defining pornography. We had slipped through us here, against our will, a provision that says that any school that permits a teacher to teach secular humanism in the classroom loses their money. Ever since, they have had a committee working at the Department trying to figure out how to define it so the angry citizens can go out and prevent the school from getting any money if a kid comes home and says "guess what I learned in school today."

If you pick up this week's edition, incidentally, of Mr. Falwell's magazine, you will see that it is largely devoted to an article that starts out with a cartoon with exactly that, "Hey, mama, guess what I heard in school today," and it goes on to tell these people in grave terms about the danger to Christianity that is occurring in this country because teachers are directly and indirectly putting these secular humanist ideas in their minds and for God's sake teaching them Darwinism on top of it.

We are spending full time trying to keep people from doing this, and your organization of all organizations ought to be very conscious of the history of education in this country. You have been on the short 10 of this in a different way, for a long, long time. It didn't start with the current concern over Israel.

We teach courses called comparative religion. I took one of those after the war. It really caused me to think because my certitude about my own religion was challenged. I found out there were other religions that had not thought very much about that I were pretty good, but under Falwell we would not permit teaching of comparative religion because there is only one religion in his book, and that was a predominant theme for almost 2 years in the American public school system, and you belong to a religion that as on the short end of that.

We don't want to open the door, because of that program in Arizona, to those people who are now in this town who think that the Federal Government ought to tell people at the college, high school and elementary level, what they can and cannot teach, and it is not an empty philosophical point. We had the specific recommendations from the Heritage Foundation of how to write a reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to clean up all these problems and I just have to tell you that I personally cannot entertain the idea of us trying in any way to restrict the contents of education programs.

If you have got a remedy, as I see it, it has to be to impress upon whoever is responsible at the University of Arizona, for that center, that there is a substantial bias—You say you represent 25,000 people. You have got Barry Goldwater, who is very strong in this area, a civil libertarian with respect to freedom of religion, and there is a very heavy religious overtone involved in what you have said.

I think that that is where your remedy lies, but I would resist those members who might jump with alacrity at this idea—the camel's nose is under the tent—and no pun to the Arabic countries intended. If we can do it to prevent them from putting out anti-Israel material, then we can do it for a whole lot of other reasons, and I don't want to start down that road.

Mr. COLEMAN. Could I ask a question? First I thank you for coming, and the hope that chairman's remarks do not in any way impinge you or your reasons for being here. I am sure he didn't mean to. Congressman McCain has indicated to me what an outstanding citizen you are of his State. I appreciate that.

Let me ask you a question about this particular episode. Is it my understanding 10 percent of the funds on this program came from the Federal Government, is that correct?

Ms. **Karsch**. The Outreach component is a small part of the overall area study which we strongly support. The Federal part of the Outreach Program was half. The oil companies contributed half.

Mr. **Coleman**. Since the oil companies don't seem to be strapped for cash, if the Federal portion was to be eliminated, wouldn't this program have been continued?

Ms. **Karsch**. By the private sector?

Mr. **Coleman**. And the universities and the companies?

Ms. **Karsch**. The important point is the imprimatur of the university, and Mr. Ford, thinks I disagree with him. I don't. We aren't suggesting that the Federal Government tell the university how to conduct its program, that is the very problem. The Federal Government endorses without accountability, therefore, the university itself creates the line which it passes on to the schools and if that is monopolistic, then there is a party line—in this case the highly anti-Israel line—not just at the University of Arizona, across the country, which the Federal Government gives the impression that it supports.

When the teacher gets that information, he doesn't see it as vested interests from oil companies and Arizona or any organization, he doesn't see it as propaganda, which these materials largely are, he sees it as something that his university has passed on to him. So we don't want minds to be closed, we think the subject should be taught but the schools should have an availability of getting information from many sources and not have a program designed for them by someone who could certainly have a very biased point of view, in which case there is no freedom on the part of the schools.

Mr. **Coleman**. Well, what has the University of Arizona has done about this?

Ms. **Karsch**. I am happy to tell you because there is a representative from the school district, the issue came to a close in Arizona. The school district investigated the program because its students were being affected. It found such evidence of bias that it ousted the program and informed the Department of Education that it didn't collaborate—never did—with this program, the activities had not been authorized by the school district.

When the school district acted so strongly in its own behalf, then the university had no clients for its program. When the K-12 issue was removed, then we had no more dispute with the university and the strong relations were restored. There is no dispute there today at all at the university at this point. But based on decisions of the schools to withdraw, there is a new director of the area study center, who has himself said the Government should stay away from K-12.

We aren't really relating to all of the fine things that have been described today in terms of working with the business community, or the general community, adult audiences. We are talking about a propaganda function which by and aberration has developed because of the oil and Arab interests and their ability to impact on this. They have sort of gotten ahold of Federal machinery, running it through universities, then claimed academic freedom. If freedom is no longer there—because as the school officials tell you, this was an Arab and oil viewpoint that was being propagated to fifth graders, to high school students, through films and exhibits—that is not in the best interests of the country, that was an abuse and an exploitation.

We aren't suggesting the subject not be taught, but the Federal Government, by putting itself in the position of endorsing that specific mechanism is really aiding, abetting a vested interest then that is what should be looked at.

Mr. **Ford**. I am waiting for the complaint to come in from the people who want Huckleberry Finn taken out of the elementary schools, if we started meddling with your problem here. That is for the local school. What is used in a school is for the local school board and the principal and the curriculum design person and the rest.

Ms. **Karsch**. I agree with that.

Mr. **Ford**. Not produced by Uncle Sam or some foreign government or anything else. They may give that to the kids at their peril and somebody looks at something that comes from the school and says I don't like the content of that, we can't deal with that.

Ms. **Karsch**. I agree with you. I agree with you entirely. It is exactly what the Federal—we agree—the Federal Government has come in and endorsed a network, a mechanism which takes away that freedom which says teachers, here is how you should teach the Middle East.

At the meeting of the coordinators to plan how to teach the Middle East, the vice president of Mobil Oil gave a talk and met with coordinators and helped them design how to teach the Middle East. We think that is an aberration. How objective can he be.

You are right, the school shuld decide in Tucson, AZ. They did. They had to do so against the force of university and the Federal Government, who was saying do this. It created such a conflict in the community the question is, does the Federal Government want that to assert that, to assert that role, or allow the schools to decide themselves among whatever is available to them?

For 15 years we didn't have an Outreach function in the area study, we concentrated on providing exeprts for the country, language specialists. When the people in the university said no, we are the experts, we will teach the children, that is where we went off the track. It isn't at all analogous to Huckleberry Finn, because the Jewish community, more than anybody else in this country, supports total freedom in terms of what is taught at the school level. We are trying to explain to you a mechanism which got ahold of a system, which had one point of view over another, that is being supported by the Federal Government.

You are arguing for the Federal Government not to tell people what to do, and I think I am saying that is exactly what has happened with this particular program.

Mr. **Coleman**. Would you be happier if there was a disclosure on written documents and written materials that said who funded this program among the Federal Government and Mobil Oil and so on and so forth? Would that kind of disclosure address your concern?

Ms. **Karsch**. Mr. Coleman, that would have helped a great deal in Arizona because for 2 years, while we tried to find out who is putting this propaganda in our schools, we kept saying to the administrators, where is this coming from? It is just federally funded, how could it be bad? University sponsored, federally funded. It was that it was coming from sources that had a high interest in the Arab side of the Middle East conflict and half of that money, including computers to do work books, was coming from the oil companies. So that would have helped a great deal.

I think we unmasked the problem to some degree, and the organization, the National Jewish Organization, have documented this, not at the University of Arizona, but in many of the centers it is a systemic pattern which it is very difficult to discuss, it is complicated. But it is not a censorship issue, it is a political issue, and the other thing is the purpose in the language of the legislation does not describe Outreach, it simply says we should again knowledge and strength and relations between countries. There is a big gap there between the purpose and the way the Department of Education cites title VI and says this gives me authority to do that, and I say does it really?

Mr. **Ford**. Well, suppose that we send money over to, as we are, I think $30 million this year—to the National Institute of Health to give out to medical schools across the country to research AIDS. Do you suppose we want them to research that and keep it at the university? Or, are we expecting that to find its way into the journals and otherwise that it will, whatever they discover will go to the rest of the medical university?

When we give money to schools for research, we expect that it won't be for the benefit of the researcher, but that it will have some greater benefit. Until it is disseminated it doesn't mean anything.

I think Mr. Coleman touched on your problem. If you remove—if you put a limitation on, say, you can research and prepare the materials, but you can't spend any money to disseminate it, if it is as good as you say from the Arab point of view, they have no trouble financing dissemination. And if the schools quit doing it, then they will go to direct mailing and send one to every house.

Ms. **Karsch**. Let them. That is OK that the private sector, if they want to do it in their own name, but let's not—the U.S. Government, put its endoresement on it.

Mr. **Ford**. The only impropriety I see by anybody at the University of Arizona that could be jeopardizing this program, at least in your statement, would be if every aspect of it is funded with Federal money. I don't think the centers that these gentlemen have at their own universities are fully funded by this program

Ms. **Karsch**. No.

Mr. **Ford**. Not at all. We couldn't operate one of the centers at Michigan for 2 months on the amount of money we give them, but I could guess pretty quickly where an awful lot of money comes from that goes into those centers, and all of the people who give money for educational purposes are not totally neutral in their gifts, but, as long as the university maintains its independence from any untoward kind of commitments in return for the money, I can't find that objectionable.

If you take money from General Motors, you expect that you are going to say nice things about General Motors. As a matter of fact, most of the foundations who give educational money do not attach strings like that. Ford Foundation has been under attack numerous times for funding activities which were perceived by some part of the population as promulgating liberal causes, racial integration for God's sake.

Ford Foundation was giving people money to work on that problem in the sixties, when it was in some parts of the country an anathema to support integration of the races, or desegregation is a kinder way to put it. All of these people come under attack, and I know of no evidence that these foundations had an evil cause when they gave the money.

I have interceded with some of them, and usually they are more concerned about whether their money is going to be wasted, when it is going to produce something, so I have to suggest to you—and I will talk to Mr. McCain, that your problem lies with the people administering the program at the University of Arizona. And if they start disseminating the information on their own, then you have to buy some ads and disseminate your information.

You have got a political problem, once removed from the place where the political circumstances exist, but it is not unique. I would be willing to bet without knowing, if I talked to the head of the Center for African Studies at Michigan State about what is going on, there would be an exercise in intellectual curiosity on my part. I would be very hesitant to question him in front of anybody for fear that he would say anything that would give rise to the idea that I ought to do something about it.

If you think you can teach African studies in States like Michigan at a univeristy without controversy, you haven't been around that subject for as long as I have. Is it pro- or anti-people? Are there emerging governments in Africa, Marxist or not Marxist? The President knows exactly what they are. He tells the people all the time, but people on college campuses aren't so sure.

They are good governments if they join us in voting against everything the Russians are for, and they are bad governments if they don't. How they were constructed, with a gun or ballot box, is irrelevant. But you are now really illustrating why it is so difficult to fund the whole idea of international studies.

If we just ignored the whole thing, we won't have to worry about what is going on in Africa. We won't have to worry about what is going on in Northern Ireland; wouldn't have to worry about what is going on in the Middle East, and wouldn't have to worry, indeed, in the trade proposition about Japanese studies.

The minute that you launch into those, you are in a touchy area. That is what colleages and universities are supposed to be doing. They are supposed to tread where the mundane affairs of life don't take us normally.

Ms. **Karsch**. We agree with that at the university level. I think the experience of the school district at the pre-college level adds the other dimension as to what the dangers are, not at the university level.

Mr. **Ford**. We will be reauthorizing the elementary and secondary act next year. I serve notice on any organization that if they attempt in any way at all to use that act to dictate to elementary and secondary schools what kind of materials they are going to use, there won't be a reauthorization.

They will do so at the expense of the whole program. I think the concept of leaving that freedom to the educators is so important. I would rather we gave them no Federal money at all, because I haven't found the person I would trust to be God, not even me, and only God could make the kind of decisions that the Secretary of Education would have.

You know that in the law, right now, the Department of Education has no authority to give you any help at all with the problem you have, because in the general education provisions which are permanent law. We specifically prohibit the Secretary from promulgating any regulatioin that will either encourage any particular course material, text books or teaching material. That has been in the law since the first education act we passed in 1965 with any breadth to it.

We have kept it there faithfully without challenge, because we didn't want any Secretary to become a czar, and decide what could or could not be distributed in schools, read by the students or used for teaching. We probably would never have had modern math in the sixties if we had given anybody the authority to stop it, because the traditionalist fought it very bitterly.

We have had votes all over the place over here on teaching metrics because the John Birch Society decided that by going metric we were going to lose our American identity. The variety of ways in which people try to use the schools as an means to control what goes to the public is infinite, and we just have no role in that.

There may be other members of the committee who won't agree with that. You can check out my record on the Middle East if you wish, too, to see whether I am saying any of these things with the wrong kind of prejudice, but, this is not the arena to resolve your problem. It sounds to me like you have made things rather exciting for the univeristy, and they should certainly by now have gotten the message.

Ms. **Karsch**. There is no problem at the University of Arizona. The problem is with the Federal program, and the problem is here in Washington now, because essentially your point of view is compatible with our school district; that is, everyone wants to use the schools for various issues.

Mr. **Ford**. I must take exception to both of your premises in your statement that it is a Federal problem; it is here. It is (a) not a Federal problem, and (b) it is not here. I want you to leave with that clearly on the record.

It is not a Federal problem, and it isn't here, and I refuse to take the position that somehow we have a responsibility in this regard. Individually, I might have, but not as chairman of this committee.

Ms. **Karsch**. I mean, sir, the unwitting opportunities which the Federal program has given to the interest to promote their point of view is the problem.

Mr. **Ford**. I don't want to insult you, but Jerry Falwell feels sorry that unwitting dupes have let schools teach Darwinism so long, so we are indirectly financing science teachers who teach people about this crazy idea of evolution. And they haven't yet tried to use us to stop that. Now we have some States that require teaching creationism and evolution so that the student can make a choice.

That is a step forward, at least, but, we are going to begin something that my generation accepted as a scientific fact. Now because we have new religious spins to the ball, and the school systems and education systems in this country are the only place in the world where this happens, because it is the only place in the world where we have the kind of individual choice and academic freedom that we have in this country.

No other country that purports to have it comes anyplace close, anyplace close. And, I guess you can see that I have become over 21 years on this committee quite defensive at ever letting the wise people, even my friends who are wise people like you, open the doors for the people that I would then feel very badly about.

As a matter of fact, one of the congressional districts in Michigan has the largest Arabic population in the United States, and I suspect that if there were materials coming out of his program at Michigan that are getting to Dearborn, that you are going to have demonstrations from the Arabic community about how you depict the Middle East. It doesn't cut just one way.

That is one of the problems you have when you write a book or produce a play, somebody isn't going to like it, and the school boards theoretically are elected to exercise judgment in what they are going to subject their children to. People get elected to school boards by opposing certain kinds of books because they are pornography, get great following and you find them on the school board. And they are going to burn the book.

Other people don't want sex education in the schools. That gets them elected to the school board. Those, I hope, are extreme aberrations that come and go, and what you are talking about could have well developed into a political issue at her board meeting. The pro-Israeli and anti-Israeli forces there would have a new forum in which to argue without saying anything that would identify them as being either way.

That is one of the risks we take in having a wide open society. You have to have it at that level with whatever information you are able to impart and whatever pressure you can bring to bear on the local school people. Mr. Penny?

Mr. PENNY. I had some questions. I don't anymore.

Mr. FORD. Dr. Campbell, just as a matter of curiosity at the Univeristy of Michigan, you have an unusual scholorship for doctorial students who are Asian women. Is that still there?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The Barber, yes. The Barber scholarships are still in effect.

Mr. FORD. Do these kinds of people participate in your center?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Typically not. They have on occasion. They frequently participate in center-related activities, but our students are most often American students who are studying Asian. Most of the Barber scholars are Asian women studying American.

Mr. FORD. Have to be Asian women?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right, and just basically that is it. I am not sure—they have a set of administrative regulations, but that is mostly it. I don't think you have to be a graduate student.

Mr. FORD. I ran into some of them at Unesco who came up to me and said they went to school in Michigan——

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Mr. **Ford** [continuing]. And asked me if I have heard of it. I didn't know the University of Michigan had it. Somebody set it up with private money.

Mr. **Campbell.** I have met people that have had that fellowship, it seems to me, 30 or 40 years ago. It has been going on for a long time. I might note, incidentally, with regard to the previous conversation, that the University of Arizona solved its problem by going in and robbing one of our promising young faculty members at the University of Michigan to make him director of their middle eastern center there, a good friend of mine.

Ms. **Karsch.** A good friend of ours, too.

Mr. **Ford.** Well, I am sure you get a better spin on the ball now. Thank you.

Dr. Ryan, I was interested in looking at the number of centers you have at Indiana, then, too, to get your reaction to the fact that if you look at the top 10 awards for 1985 and 1986, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Columbia, Cornell, Indiana, U of M, Pennsylvania, Stanford, University of Washington, Wisconsin, it looks like there are two rather distinct parts of the country; a little bit northeast, a lot of midwest, and a lot of California.

Where is all the rest of it? What is there in the way in which this is distributed? I like this because there is so much of it in my area. I know no question is going to be raised with $26 million. How do we find it going so consistently into these areas? Is it because these schools, wherever they are located, were in the business first?

Mr. **Ryan.** Well, Mr. Chairman, I like it, too. Anything I now say shouldn't take away from that.

Mr. **Ford.** You were champion for 1985-86. You got more money than anybody else.

Mr. **Ryan.** I like that, too. But that has nothing to do with the age of the program. I would like to suggest two points. One is that the decisions on support are made as objectively as I think, as our society can make them on the basis of peer review and on the basis of the merits of those who request support.

That is the reason I would offer for the results of where the support presently goes, but I don't think you divorce that from the history of the funding of the program, which has been a history of diminishing funding over the years, thus a reduction in the numbers of programs, and even very good programs that were funded before or would have been funded now, are not now because the funding level was less available.

Mr. **Ford.** There obviously is a very distinctive—I am looking now through a list of all the grants throughout the country, regardless of size, and the closest thing I can find to a southern institution is Georgetown.

I can't find anything south of Georgetown in the old Confederacy.

Mr. **Campbell.** Title VI, part B has a number of southern schools.

Mr. **Ford.** Unless you call Texas—it fascinates me that Texas gets the money when they have so much money going out of their ears. They could finance our whole program and never miss it.

Mr. **Ryan**. I think there are a number of dimensions—75-cent word. I was going to say wrinkles—that in evitably find their way into any given year or 3-year distribtuion of this support. Of course age does have nothing to do with it. My predecessor is a product of Dr. Campbell's institution, Japan Program.

That is its distinction and for decades is one reason for its support, but, there is a great, and accepted and understood national interest in support of Asian, of Japanese, of Chinese. If you look at Indiana University, you will find, I think, a different national interest recognition at work. At least half of the cases of our national center support have to do with a rarely taught exotic, very narrow band program, if you will, that we like to make the argument are vital to the national interest, but there haven't been many useful programs in the country. There are three or two, I don't know, so if there is going to be one, it is likely to be at Indiana.

That would explain one more of the programs or some more of the dollars that are allocated to an institution.

Mr. **Ford**. What it tells me is why we are having so much trouble getting it funded. There is no advocacy in very important States when it comes to getting funding, because there is nobody in that State apparently who is participating in the program. Twenty-three in the West, 28 in the Midwest, and 29 in the Northeast, and only 9 in all of the South.

This has nothing to do with the philosophy of this legislation, but the practical application of getting this authorization funded. This is the first time I have seen a map like this, and this explains to me why it is so damn hard to get a consensus on that appropriation committee for this money.

Mr. **Ryan**. It explains it to me maybe we can try to do something about that.

Mr. **Ford**. Also, the chairman doesn't have any in his State.

We have got to get one into Kentucky in a hell-of-a-hurry. Thank you very much for your assistance, and please let me apologize if I in any way have given you the impression, Carol, that I am not sympathetic to your problem. But you touched a very tender nerve. I want to apoligize for perhaps overreacting to it.

[Additional material submitted for the record follows:]

Texas Tech University
Director of Libraries

August 30, 1985

Representative William Ford
Chairman, House Post Secondary Education
  Subcommittee
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Representative Ford:

I respectfully request the following be included in the Subcommittee hearing records.

We want to take this opportunity to encourage your support for the reauthorization of the Title II-C portion of the Higher Education Act, Strengthening Library Resources Program.

However, we are concerned that the grant funds as presently administered are not being equitably distributed. For example, in 1985, institutions in 8 northeastern states received 20 of the 43 grants awarded. Four upper midwest states received 12. Conversely, only 8 grants were awarded in 6 states west of the Mississippi River.

Apparently, since 1978, only two Texas institutions have received grants under the program. Yet, in 1985 alone, 8 awards were given in New York state, 7 in Illinois, 4 in Pennsylvania, and 3 in Washington, D.C.

We strongly recommend that grant regulations be revised in order to achieve a more equitable geographic distribution. Also we recommend that no institution be allowed to receive grant funds for more than three years in succession. These actions would insure the equitable distribution intended by the Act and would allow more institutions to participate in the program.

We also encourage your support for revision of Title II-D, following the joint recommendation of the American Library Association and the Association of Research Libraries submitted April 29, 1985.

Sincerely

E. Dale Cluff

E. Dale Cluff
Director of Libraries

pc: The Honorable Larry Combest
    House of Representatives

EDC/bjs

Library/Lubbock, Texas 79409-0002/(806) 742-2261

Association of Research Libraries
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 232-2466

SHIRLEY ECHELMAN
Executive Director

September 9, 1985

The Honorable William D. Ford
239 Cannon House Office Building
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Ford:

On behalf of the Association of Research Libraries (ARL) and Dr. Charles Churchwell, I am writing to thank you for the opportunity you afforded to ARL to present testimony before the House Postsecondary Education Subcommitte on September 6 on reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, Titles II and VI. May I also take this opportunity to express the Association's gratitude for the continuing commitment that you have made during your Congressional service to education and to the role of libraries as educational institutions.

The question that you raised with Dr. Robert O'Neil concerning the definition of a research library is of great interest to ARL. While we were flattered by Dr. O'Neil's response, which implied that a research library can be defined as a member of the Association of Research Libraries, I would like to respond somewhat more fully to that question if I may do so in this letter. The membership of ARL is comprised of 117 of the largest research libraries in North America, as Dr. Churchwell stated in response to your question. Ninety-three of our member libraries are located in major universities in the U.S. These libraries are characterized by the size and breadth of their collections which encompass all subjects of interest to scholars in the universities of which these libraries are a part; including the humanities, the social sciences, and the physical sciences. ARL does not claim that our membership encompasses all the research libraries in North America, nor that all the research that is done in libraries is done in ARL member libraries. Our libraries are characterized by a broad focus but there are many examples of excellent and valuable research libraries whose focus is more specialized; e.g. the Library of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Library of the National Bureau of Standards in Gaithersburg, Maryland, and the Library of the California Institute of Technology, to name a few. These libraries are not members of ARL nor would it be likely that they would become members of the Association, but they are recognized as research libraries because their mission is to support research in specialized areas.

For the purpose of statutory definition, the statement in Section 231 of the current Higher Education Act Title II-C is a reasonable definition of a major research library. As you well know, it is for the purpose of assisting major research libraries that Title II-C was originally constructed and will now be reauthorized, we assume. In the statute, a major research library is defined as a public or private non-profit institution, including the library resources of an institution of higher education, an independent research library, or a state or other public library having collections which are available to qualified users and which meet the following criteria:

1. Make significant contributions to higher education and research.

2. Are broadly based and are recognized as having national or international significance for scholarly research.

3. Are of a unique nature and contain material not widely available.

4. Are in substantial demand by researchers and scholars not connected with that particular institution.

While many of the grants made under Title II-C during its life time have been made to libraries that are members of ARL, this is not always the case. The definition in the statute allows for flexibility in determining whether an institution qualifies for a grant or not. ARL supports the continuance of this kind of flexibility in the legislation.

We also took careful note of your statement concerning the importance of maintaining the special postal rate for library materials and are well aware of the interest that you have in this subject. Indeed, it is of importance to all libraries, academic and university research libraries included. It is very difficult to provide exact information on the possibie impact of a massive increase in the library rate because most of our member libraries do not separate the postage charges for first class and library rate, and because many of them do not keep separate track of the amounts that they pay to publishers and other suppliers for postage costs. In most cases, these costs are folded into the total cost for the purchase of library materials. We are, however, trying several formulae which might allow us to give you at least some illustrative information that you might find useful in responding to questions about the importance of maintaining a library rate in the reconciliation process. We hope to be able to have some information for you within a few days and will be in touch with you when this is available. In the meantime, once again may I think you for your interest in and willingness to fight the good fight for libraries and education, and give you our best wishes for success and our offer of support in your work.

Very truly yours,

Shirley Echelman

Shirley Echelman
Executive Director

SE:lp

99TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 3190

Entitled: "The Higher Education Disclosure Act".

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

AUGUST 1, 1985

MR. MATSUI introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

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A BILL

Entitled: "The Higher Education Disclosure Act".

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Higher Education Disclosure Act".

SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.

For purposes of this Act—

(1) the term "contract" means any agreement for the acquisition by purchase, lease, or barter of property or for the rendering of services for the direct benefit or use of either of the parties;

(2) the term "foreign source" means—

(A) a foreign government, including an agency or subdivision of a foreign government;

(B) a legal entity, governmental or otherwise, created under the laws of a foreign government;

(C) a corporation, foundation, or association whose principal place of business is not the United States;

(D) a nonresident alien; and

(E) any other person or organization to the extent acting as an agent on behalf of a foreign source;

(3) the term "grant" means any gift or donation of money or property or any combination of gifts or donations of money or property;

(4) the term "institution" means any institution, public or private, in any State which—

(A) is legally authorized within such State to provide a program of education beyond high school,

(B) provides a program for which it awards a bachelor's degree (or provides not less than a two-year program which is acceptable for full credit toward such a degree) and/or more advanced degrees, and

(C) is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association

and to which Federal financial assistance is extended (directly or indirectly through another entity or person), or which receives support from the extension of Federal financial assistance to any of its subunits; and

(5) the term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Education.

SEC. 3. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.

(a) GRANTS AND CONTRACTS FROM FOREIGN SOURCES.—Whenever any institution receives a grant from, or enters into a contract with, a foreign source, and the value of the grant or contract is $100,000 or more when considered alone or in combination with all other grants from, or contracts with, that foreign source in the preceding twelve months, the institution shall, within 30 days of the receipt of such grant or the entrance into such contract, file a disclosure report with the Secretary as to such grant or contract and all other grants from and contracts with the foreign source in the preceding twelve month period.

(b) CONTENTS OF REPORTS.—Each report to the Secretary required by this Act shall disclose:

(1) the name and address of the foreign source;

(2) the amount and date of the grant or contract;

(3) the full details of any conditions, restrictions, requirements, matching provisions, or designations of the grant or contract including its purpose or purposes; and

(4) the name, address, title, and qualifications of any person whom the grant or contract is explicitly intended to benefit.

(c) EXCEPTION.—Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (b) hereof, if the foreign source is a natural person and no grant or contract as to which a disclosure report is required by this Act contains any conditions, restrictions, requirements, matching provisions, or designations, other than that the grant or contract is given or entered into for the benefit of the institution as a whole, the disclosure report shall be required to disclose only the nationality and country of residence of the foreign source.

(d) REPORTS ACCESSIBLE TO PUBLIC.—All disclosure reports required by this Act shall be filed with the Secretary or the Secretary's designee and shall be public record, open to inspection and copying during business hours.

SEC. 4. ENFORCEMENT.

(a) RESTRAINING ORDERS AND INJUNCTIONS.—Whenever it appears that an institution has failed to comply with the requirements of this Act, including any rule, regulation, order, or instruction promulgated thereunder, a civil action may be brought in an appropriate district court of the United States, or the appropriate United States court of any territory or other place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, to request such court to enter a restraining order or a permanent or temporary injunction commanding such person to comply with such requirements.

(b) ASSESSMENT OF COSTS.—For knowing or willful failure to comply with the requirements of this Act, including any rule, regulation, order, or instruction promulgated thereunder, an institution shall pay to the Treasury of the United States the full costs to the United States of obtaining compliance, including all associated costs of investigation and enforcement.

(c) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary may promulgate regulations to carry out the ministerial duties imposed on the Secretary by this Act.

○

Prepared Statement of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Chairman Ford and Members of the Subcommittee:

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith appreciates this opportunity to express our support for "The Higher Education Disclosure Act," H.R. 3190. This bill mandates disclosure of foreign contracts and grants to federally-assisted colleges and universities. The reporting requirements of this measure include the identity of the foreign government, institution or individual; the amount of the grant or contract; and any "conditions, restrictions, requirements, matching provisions, or designations of the grant or contract." The purpose of this legislation is to increase public awareness of connections between American colleges and universities and foreign sources of funding. Our interest is not to prohibit foreign grants or contracts, but to expose any conditions or restrictions inherent in the funding which contravene public policy or U.S. law.

This Subcommittee has been presented with examples of foreign gifts and agreements which obligate U.S. educational institutions to comply with discriminatory faculty and personnel provisions; to develop medical and industrial technology for foreign corporations; and in some cases, to serve as little more than lobbyists for foreign governments. Universities have argued that foreign grants provide funding for research which might otherwise not be feasible, and establish academic projects which enrich the education offered to students at the institution. Many of these agreements, however, are alarming to those of us who view American educational institutions as a valuable national resource.

Foreign funding of programs and facilities at American colleges potentially raises serious academic, political and economic issues. The need for legislation subjecting such funding to public scrutiny is obvious when one considers the ramifications of growing foreign subsidies.

Concomitant with foreign funding may be some degree of influence over the academic environment. The endowment of a faculty chair may allow the benefactor to dictate who is hired, or not hired. A college's curriculum and its reputation may be shaped by offering a particular program of study or assembling a faculty group with expertise in a specific field. When the program receives substantial funding from a specific foreign concern, the orientation of the program, and perhaps the school, is likely to absorb, to some degree at least, the partiality and the agenda of the benefactor. This orientation ultimately affects the academic environment of the institution. While funding from any source carries with it the potential to influence a university, foreign gifts raise distinct political concerns.

Concerns may arise when some degree of control is ceded to the foreign benefactor, such as the endowment of a faculty chair earmarked for an individual of a particular political persuasion. At the local level, such control could result in the benefactor gaining a spokesperson on campus who can exert influence on the college community. This influence is not, however, limited to the local community. The university serves as platform which affords the foreign benefactor indirect access to the American public and our legislators. Because college affiliations lend instant credentials and legitimacy, the possibility of influencing public opinion is heightened when a speaker is backed by a respected university. Legislatively mandated disclosure will inhibit universities from entering into agreements which can lead to this type of control.

Foreign funding raises additional concerns which make full disclosure crucial. The fact that a foreign government (or other foreign entity) has funded research or is liberally supporting a university financially may color the public's perception of university-issued statements or studies. Our purpose is not to cut off or restrict the speaker or the message, but simply to identify the source. Testimony before this Subcommittee detailed the circumstances surrounding the exposure of foreign funding of Georgetown University's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies and similar programs at other institutions. Although every university center established by foreign sources does not conflict with American foreign policy, disclosure of the sponsors allows the public to assess more accurately the source and orientation of the information and material distributed.

Grants which contain explicit or implicit conditions may result, for example, in publications or university sponsorship of speakers which are intentionally or unintentionally biased toward the benefactor. Disclosure not only alerts the academic community and the public to the possible partiality behind a program or publication, but ultimately will discourage this abuse of the grant process.

While the advantages of financial assistance for university research are obvious, foreign sponsorship may entail limits or restrictions on research which outweigh the benefits. Representative Robert T. Matsui, the sponsor of "The Higher Education Disclosure Act," testified that foreign funding in our colleges and universities effectively exports our expertise and technology without our knowledge. His testimony demonstrates the economic effects of hidden funding from foreign corporations. Representative Matsui submitted testimony which detailed the current regulatory scheme for overseeing foreign investment in this country. Surely our concern for protecting American business interests cannot outweigh the significance of guarding our institutions of education. Foreign investment in a university must be scrutinized as carefully as any business investment.

Our educational institutions have flourished in an atmosphere of academic freedom. This fundamental tenet has enriched the learning experience of generations of students. A foreign grant or contract, however, which contains restrictive or discriminatory provisions carries with it the possibility of inhibiting intellectual inquiry. The subtle, and often not so subtle, foreign influence on campus may abridge academic freedom by stifling the free and open debate which is crucial to the educational process. To forestall the possibility of this potential abridgement, foreign grants must be open to public scrutiny.

Our concern must be to discover the degree of control ceded to foreign governments and individuals in exchange for gifts, endowments and contracts. What should be apparent to all, is that nothing less than full disclosure will protect the integrity of our educational institutions and maintain the vitality of our academic freedom. For these reasons, we support the enactment of "The Higher Education Disclosure Act."

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE JOINT NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR LANGUAGES

The Joint National Committee for Languages (JNCL) is an organization that represents thirty associations concerned with language and international education. JNCL represents the interests of educators in the less commonly taught languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Arabic and Russian as well as the traditional languages like Latin, Spanish, French and German. Our group also includes a number of associations concerned with the relationship of languages to technology, such as the International Association for Learning Laboratories, the National Association for Self-Instructional Language Programs and the Computer Assisted Language Learning and Instruction Consortium. Finally, members such as the Center for Applied Linguistics, the Modern Language Association, the National Council on Foreign Languages and International Studies and others are concerned with broad issues of education and research.

On behalf of its membership, JNCL recognizes and supports the invaluable contribution to the national interest made by Title VI of the Higher Education Act and urges its reauthorization at current (FY1985) funding levels or higher. In creating and supporting Title VI the Congress has regularly affirmed its recognition of the importance of foreign languages and international education to our national security, international trade and educational excellence. While noting the contributions made by Title VI, JNCL wishes to suggest a few changes or modifications in the program. These suggestions are based on the attached JNCL/CLOIS Policy Statement and Policy Recommendations approved by the thirty-one associations in the JNCL and the Council for Languages and Other International Studies.

The concerns of the profession as delineated in these policy statements fall into five broad categories: 1) enrollments, 2) established programs, 3) teacher training, 4) service to other professions, and 5) research. All of these areas are concerns of Title VI as the primary legislative mechanism for meeting the nation's needs in languages and international education. However, while Title VI provides the essential leadership and incentive to address these issues, no one believes that it is adequate in itself to address them fully.

Last year, the Modern Language Association released data indicating that foreign language enrollments in higher education have increased by 4.5 percent since 1980 to a total of 966,013 students studying languages. These figues reflect a considerable improvement over the findings of the President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies whose report was issued at a low point in the history of the field. In the last three years, French, Spanish and German have experienced increases of 8.8, 1.8 and 1.0 percent respectively. Japanese, Russian and Chinese have seen major increases of 40.2, 26.7, and 15.9 percent respectively. When we examine the reality of the numbers, however, particularly in the critical languages, total enrollments in Japanese are only 16,127, in Russian 30,386, and in Chinese 13,178. Out of a total college and university enrollment of nearly twelve and one-half million, these enrollments are still exceptionally small. Additionally, the problem of study beyond the second year remains as serious as ever.

We can anticipate that enrollments will continue this gradual increase as institutions of higher education reinstitute entrance and exit requirements and as states such as New York, Florida, Texas, and others begin to provide incentives for foreign language study. We cannot, however, anticipate with any certainty whether these increases will be adequate for our national needs in terms of duration, quality, and level of study.

We recognize that Title VI has neither the scope nor the funds to deal with the broad issue of enrollments. This is probably an area that requires new legislation on the order of the Foreign Language Assistance for National Security Act (H.R. 3048). Nevertheless, Title VI as the primary agent in this area should be concerned with encouraging the best programs and with addressing the matter of quality and level of study. Grants for information about, support for, and dissemination of information regarding these programs could be a responsibility of Title VI. At the very least, a mechanism for identifying and providing information about exceptional foreign language and international studies programs should be considered.

Secondly, established programs with good track records need continued support. This may be particularly the case for advanced, intensive programs in the critical languages because they are much more expensive and require longer periods of study than traditional languages. While we would not slight the latter, it may be that Title VI, with its limited resources, must focus on advancing training in the critical languages within the national resource centers.

Third, at the heart of the issue of national responsibility for increased and improved language study is the matter of teacher training. Even before the current upswing in language enrollments, there were local shortages of language teachers in a number of states and insufficient numbers of teachers in a variety of languages, including the critical languages and Latin. Now, with increased enrollments and states such as New York, Louisiana, and Maryland adopting new language requirements at the elementary and secondary levels, we face severe teacher shortages. The state of Virginia, for example, now has more students taking language classes than at any time since World War II. The Atlanta system has had to go to Germany to recruit German teachers. Baltimore's public schools have experienced a doubling of their foreign language enrollments. One estimate in Louisiana is that, with their new requirements, they will need 365 teachers this year for foreign language classes in the fourth grade alone.

The problem is not just a matter of numbers. It is also a matter of quality. School systems such as Baltimore, Denver, Los Angeles, and New York City are already relying on substitutes and inadequately trained teachers. At the very time that we must be careful to "turn on" students to language, we may well be "turning them off" with inadequately trained teachers. The encouragement of language study in elementary and secondary schools, as well as in postsecondary institutions, is a vital concern of any attempt to address our nation's language and international education needs. In addition to the obvious acquisition of cultural and linguistic knowledge, one good reason to study language early is that it is easier then. Also, those who learn languages early are most likely to continue with the language and have an easier time learning others. Third, although subject to interpretation, there are studies showing good correlation between second-language study and skills in reading and comprehension in the native language. Finally, real language competence, such as is required (or should be required) in diplomacy and intelligence gathering, requires years of study and should be started early. In fact, the more difficult the language, the earlier it should be started.

Every bit as important as training new quality language teachers, is maintaining and upgrading the skills of those we already have. Foreign language teachers have always had a vital need for periodic retraining in both skills and methods, but as the profession moves to develop communicative competence and proficiency-based standards, increased in-service training will be even more essential. Ideally, such re-training in skills should be done through a program of study abroad, but for most teachers week-end or week-long immersion workshops or summer institutes will be an acceptable alternative. Methodologically, as the needs for communicative skills, scientific and business terminology, and other practical applications have increased, teachers have felt increased pressure to keep up with new methods and new technologies while developing creative and innovative approaches to teaching diverse student populations.

The issue of teacher training is simply too large for Title VI to address by itself and should probably be dealt with in the reauthorization of Title V of the Higher Education Act. However, it is a pressing and relevant issue, and Title VI should play a role in combination with the few provisions in the Education for Economic Security Act dealing with "critical" foreign languages and an upgraded Title V. If, as seems likely, these other programs seek to address teacher shortages, then Title VI must assume a responsibility for in-service training through language institutes or study abroad. Since the costs of study abroad would quickly exhaust Title VI's limited resources, intensive institutes may prove a workable domestic alternative.

A fourth area of importance to JNCL concerns language study in its broader national context. Foreign language acquisition is a serious and legitimate national defense issue. It is also important to our trade and international economic policies. The Defense Language Institute and the Foreign Service Institute do excellent work in preparing their respective constituencies. However, they require a base upon which to build, and they cannot do it all. Our colleges and universities must provide the base and address the nation's needs for advanced training. To this end, the existing national resource centers are providing a vital service.

Business needs, however, are not being addressed nearly so well. In an era of economic interdependence, the data are compelling--35,000 U.S. businessmen are working abroad, 6,000 U.S. companies have overseas offices, and 20,000 firms are engaged in exporting. While a great deal more study needs to be done on the language needs of international business, the few studies we have now indicate a serious shortage of individuals with language skills. This is not to say that businesses should hire individuals for their language skills or international knowledge. Businesses and other professionals with international interests, however, continue to look for language knowledge and global awareness as major ancillary skills. Currently, Part B of Title VI provides a good but limited response to this problem. To supplement it, Title VI should find ways to address the short-term needs of business executives and professionals working abroad through the use of specialized language institutes.

The language profession's current emphasis on the development of communicative competence and proficiency-based tests and standards should be encouraged. These are areas that specifically address some of our national concerns for excellence in education, the needs of business, and the broader national interest. Both areas need further research and elaboration that will require financial support. This is particularly true with regard to the less commonly taught languages where the need may be greatest. As states such as Texas and New York create statutory standards based on proficiency requirements, it is essential that the profession have the necessary research to delineate what is and is not possible.

Finally, technology can never replace quality teaching, but it can certainly facilitate it. There is much that satellites, computers, film, video cassettes and other equipment can do to improve language acquisition and global awareness. Moreover, the next few years will see attempts to use technology to ease the problems posed by the foreign language teacher shortage. Proper use of new technology, however, will require a thorough understanding of its limitations as well as its optimal applications. Again, because Title VI is the primary mechanism in the area of international education, its research provisions should be expanded further to address the issue of technology.

The Joint National Committee for Languages is not suggesting that Title VI be all things to all people. Its scope and resources are much too limited for that. Two years ago, in testimony before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Education, we testified in defense of funding for Title VI by concluding that it serves as a "positive attempt to strengthen the linkage between language and international studies and the nation's security and economic well-being." The basic statute is quite sound and we would support it even if no changes were made at all.

JNCL would recommend, however, a few changes in Title VI which, when combined with changes in Titles II and V of the Higher Education Act, the language provisions in the Education for Economic Security Act, and new legislation concerning elementary and secondary school programs, will address our nation's foreign language needs. First, the current $80 million authorization for Part A and $7.5 million for Part B is adequate, since the FY 1985 appropriation was only $26.55 million for both. We would hope that the appropriation would be raised to at least fifty percent of the authorization, although the changes necessary to upgrade the foreign language provisions could be accomplished for a good deal less.

Second, the national resource centers are doing a most adequate job with very limited resources. Our only suggestion requires no legislative change but is a matter of intent. We would urge that language study be better integrated and more closely tied to area studies.

Third, Parts A(3) and (4) of Section 604 dealing with foreign language teacher study abroad and expansion of foreign language courses are vital concerns of our profession. However, within the limited resources and scope of Title VI, assistance in these areas must be selective. Nonetheless, the best programs and teachers need identification and support, including the best elementary and secondary programs and teachers. This is a major responsibility of Title VI that needs greater attention.

Fourth, another major responsibility of Title VI is research. We have noted that the research needs in the areas of communicative competence, proficiency standards, and technology are important and immediate. They are of great importance to the profession and the nation and should be specifically addressed in Section

605 of Title VI.

Finally, JNCL would recommend a new provision in Title VI, either in addition to Section 603 or as a replacement for it. An idea that has been raised before in a variety of contexts is the need to create a network of intensive language institutes to study foreign languages and to serve as language resource centers. These ten or so institutes could be regional in location and geographically oriented in focus. They would serve, at least, four functions: 1) to provide instruction in both the commonly and less commonly taught languages of a geographic area at the graduate level in intensive fashion; 2) to provide in-service training and re-training for foreign language teachers through workshops, summer institutes, and other programs; 3) to provide intensive short-term courses for businesspersons and other professionals; and 4) to provide and coordinate information and research on the languages of a specific region.

In conclusion, the Joint National Committee for Languages wholeheartedly supports reauthorization of Title VI and recognizes that it has been a program of exceptional worth to our profession and to the nation. Our suggestions for strengthening the foreign language provisions in this statute are made with the recognition that Title VI has made a significant contribution to international education in the past and will continue to make such contributions in the future.

Language Competence and Cultural Awareness in the United States: a statement of the position of the Joint National Committee for Languages and the Council for Language and Other International Studies

The United States is a nation to whose shores have come peoples from every continent, and history records their priceless contributions. From the beginning the quality of life has been ennobled and enriched by them, and city and village streets have resounded with the music of many languages. It is a rich heritage, one to be nurtured, encouraged, cherished.

We hold that all persons in our culturally rich and linguistically diverse nation should be provided the opportunity and be encouraged to become proficient in more than one language to a degree of mastery consonant with their need and aspiration. The learning of other languages adds new linguistic competence and cultural sensitivity to already valuable linguistic backgrounds. One language is never intended to supplant another. We hold, therefore, that all persons, whatever their linguistic and cultural background, should be encouraged to preserve that proud birthright and be given the opportunity to continue to grow in the understanding and use of it.

Those who are not proficient in English should be provided the opportunity and encouragement to become so, since English is the key to gaining an accurate, broad perspective on American life, to obtaining equality of educational, economic, social and political opportunity, and thereby to participating fully and freely in society. In the same way, those who are proficient only in English should have the opportunity and should be encouraged to achieve proficiency in other languages and to know and appreciate the history and culture of other peoples. It is through the knowledge of languages and cultures that we best begin to know and comprehend the scope and significance of human experience in history, from ancient times to modern; it is through the knowledge of languages and cultures that we best learn to tolerate and appreciate cultural and linguistic diversity at home, to understand our contemporaries abroad, and so achieve our full potential as citizens of the world.

The educational establishment, despite all its diversity and resources, cannot alone assume the responsibility for providing the means for language study and encouraging learners to achieve mastery; government, at all levels, business, industry, cultural and other public and private institutions must support this effort as well.

The consequences of these principles of opportunity and encouragement are significant for both the individual and the nation. The individual will enjoy a wider and richer range of personal experience and, at the same time, benefit from an expanded scope of employment and professional opportunities. The nation also will benefit. During its relatively short history, the United States has assumed an important international role, influencing in many ways the political, social, and economic structures of life in other countries and, in turn, being influenced by those with whom it interacts. These relationships will continue, will become more numerous, and will change in character out of both choice and necessity. We believe, therefore, that language competence and cultural awareness are essential to the responsible and sensitive fulfillment of this international role.

JNCL/CLOIS Policy Recommendations

Consonant with the statement of their position on Language Competence and Cultural Awareness in the United States, the Joint National Committee for Languages and the Council for Languages and Other International Studies support the following recommendations to achieve the goal of language competence and cultural awareness for all Americans:

THAT every American student should have access to language education in order to achieve an understanding and appreciation of other cultures and an awareness of the value of language study for personal and career goals as well as for the national interest.

It is essential to the national interest that the opportunity to study languages, especially those less commonly taught, be expanded dramatically. It is also essential that all students understand the contribution of humanistic studies toward their personal growth and lifelong pursuit of learning. Language study should, therefore, begin at the earliest time possible and continue as long as *necessary*. Expansion of immersion programs, international high schools, magnet language schools, intensive language programs, summer study abroad, international exchanges, national and regional language centers, and bilingual education is necessary.

Quality and excellence of language learning should be judged by the level of proficiency attained in speaking, listening, reading and writing on the ACTFL/ETS scale rather than on credit hours, Carnegie units, or number of semesters. There should be prescribed proficiency levels for high school graduation, college and university entrance and graduation, graduate and professional standards, and job entry and job promotion.

THAT quality language and bilingual education specialists, particularly teachers of the less commonly taught languages, be identified, encouraged, trained, and rewarded accordingly.

The shortage of teachers constitutes a serious threat to our nation. Opportunities and incentives — professional, personal, and financial — for attaining, maintaining, and improving the quality of teaching skills and knowledge through professional development, study abroad, international exchanges, and summer institutes must be significantly increased.

THAT research on second languages, *especially the less commonly taught languages*, and their study must be expanded.

There is a need to quantify business and public sector needs and applications of languages; to review and refine model programs, interdisciplinary curricula, and the use of technology; and to use the findings on first and second language acquisition studies on attitudes in order to improve the quality of instruction and the curricula in language programs *and to address our national needs in diplimacy, trade, and defense.*

THAT programs in the study of English in the United States and abroad should be strengthened.

English is the world's most commonly taught second language, and its study should be fostered and improved here and abroad through exchange programs, *English to speakers of other language programs, and bilingual education*. The learner's language of origin and cultural heritage should also be recognized for their personal as well as national value.

THAT translation and interpretation services should be improved, expanded, and better rewarded.

Diplomacy, defense, business, tourism, and public sector areas such as courts and social agencies rely heavily on translation and interpretation services. The importance of translators and interpreters must be recognized and afforded professional status. Furthermore, linkages between language educators and professional translators and interpreters should be developed. Schools, businesses, and government agencies should cooperate in the creation of a national clearinghouse to provide translation and interpretation information, materials, and resources.

THAT federal, state, and local governments; the private and business sectors; and foundations should provide adequate funding and support for second language study.

The importance of languages to the national interest necessitates leadership by the Federal government to increase funding for language and international education programs. Every state should appoint a language supervisor. Local educational agencies should establish international high schools, magnet language schools, and immersion programs. Business and private foundations should increase grants available for basic and applied research in the areas necessary to *address their needs for* language instruction and cross cultural communication.

TUCSON UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT
P.O. BOX 40400
1010 EAST TENTH STREET
TUCSON, ARIZONA 85717-0400

(602) 882-2436

September 6, 1985

Mr. William D. Ford, Chairperson
Committee on Education and Labor
Subommittee on Postsecondary Education
United States House of Representatives
320 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Ford:

I am pleased to submit an informational packet which provides the Tucson Unified School District position with regard to the unauthorized activities which took place in the District's instructional program by the University of Arizona Near Eastern Center Outreach Program.

You will note that the District strongly disassociated itself from any collaboration with the above-referenced outreach program. In fact, District collaboration with this program had never taken place on any official and authorized level, although claims of such collaboration were made by the program's staff.

Ms. Sylvia Campoy, the District's Special Assistant for Compliance prepared the informational packet to be presented to the committee as testimony.

If I can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Magett
Acting Superintendent

DLM:pam

TUCSON UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

P O BOX 40400
1010 EAST TENTH STREET
TUCSON, ARIZONA 85717-0400
(602) 882-2402

September 6, 1985

Mr. William D. Ford, Chairperson
Committee on Education and Labor
Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education
United States House of Representatives
320 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Ford:

I respectfully submit the following statement of the Tucson Unified School District (T.U.S.D.) relevant to the program reauthorization in accordance with the Higner Education Act.

The sentiments of T.U.S.D. clearly stated in the attached report and position statement of 1983 are unchanged. The program at issue (reference: Section 602 of the Higher Education Act of 1965, International Programs) caused harm to the District by the adverse impact made on students and staff which was a result of the presentation of unauthorized biased materials/lessons promoting an anti-Israeli/pro-Arab viewpoint. As stated in the September, 1983, report:

> "In general, the Outreach Program appears to constitute unauthorized activities within the District which are of a highly political nature. As a result, a bias is introduced which has no place in our academic environment and to the extent that the bias appears as purposeful toward the goal of widening perceptions or rectifying an image, it could be construed as a form of propaganda. The danger posed to otherwise harmonious religious or racial relations among teachers, students, and even parents is serious and altogether unnecessary."

Also enclosed, for your information, is a copy of an editorial which appeared in the Tucson Citizen Newspaper, October 3, 1983. Please contact me if I can be of any further assistance.

Sincerely,

Sylvia A. Campoy

Sylvia A. Campoy
Special Assistant for Compliance

/jbp

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

INFORMATIONAL PACKET

TESTIMONIAL PRESENTATION

Committee on Education and Labor, Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education for the U.S. House of Representatives:

TOPIC:

Section 602 of the Higher Education Act 1965, International Programs
(Near Eastern Center Outreach Program - University of Arizona)

CONTENTS:

- Tucson Unified School District Compliance Report; Investigation Findings - Near Eastern Center Center Outreach Program - University of Arizona (September 13, 1983)
(One copy of report appendices for reference)
- Tucson Unified School District Position Statement: Near Eastern Center Outreach Program - University of Arizona (September 16, 1983)
- Tucson Citizen Newspaper Editorial: TUSD Takes Right Steps (October 3, 1983)

TUCSON UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT
P.O. BOX 40400
1010 EAST TENTH STREET
TUCSON, ARIZONA 85717

September 13, 1983

To: Dr. Merrill Grant
Superintendent

From: Sylvia Campoy S. Campoy
Special Assistant for Compliance

Topic: Investigation Findings-
Near Eastern Center Outreach Program - University of Arizona
"Survey History on the Middle East"
(Oriental Studies 497 nx)

This memorandum addresses the findings regarding above investigation. It is organized into three major areas: Findings of Fact, Conclusions, and Recommendations. Included are the listings as follows:

A. Evidence of BIAS

B. The Exclusion Allegations

C. Hostility to Jewish Community and Tucson Unified School District

D. Effect on Teachers and Students

E. Survey Course

F. Funding

G. Representation to U. S. Department of Education Relative to Tucson Unified School District

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

A. BIAS

There appears to be significant bias in the operation of the Near East Center Outreach Program of a decisevely anti-Israel and pro-Arab character. Materials are selectively promoted, including some financed by major oil companies (Exxon Corporation and Mobil Corporation) who maintain significant business interests in the Middle East and have openly supported Arab political positions on the Middle East conflict.

Materials distributed between the training sessions at the 1982 teachers' workshop indicate the Outreach coordinator's emphasis on image rectification.

The materials include:

The Traditional World of Islam Film Series
Distribution of these films is made by Exxon Institutional Cinema Inc.

The Middle East
THE IMAGE AND THE REALITY
Jonathan Friedlander

NEAR EASTERN CENTER (brochure)
at the University of Arizona

A GLOBAL HISTORY OF MAN
Stavrianos Andrews Sheridan
McLane Safford

AMERICAN IMAGES OF MIDDLE EAST PEOPLES - IMPACT OF THE HIGH SCHOOL
Middle East Studies Association of North America, Inc.

THE IMAGE OF THE MIDDLE EAST
Middle East Studies Association

TEACHER's RESOURCE HANDBOOK FOR NEAR EASTERN STUDIES
John N. Hawkins, Jon Maksik

Bibliography film, book, pamphlets, etc. (11/81 and 2/81)
Compiled by Dr. Sheila Scoville
Distributed to teachers and librarians in TUSD

Media Briefing Packet: THE MIDDLE EAST
Dr. Sheila Scoville, Outreach Coordinator

Handout "On Purim and the Book of Esther"
Naomi Sokoloff

ASPECTS OF THE ARABIC CONTRIBUTION TO SCIENCE
by William J. Wilson

EGYPTIAN LITERATURE: WESTERN INFLUENCES ON THE EAST IN THE 19th CENTURY
Adel Selaiman Gamal

LET FREEDOM RING - A United States History

LESSON PLAN TOPICS - Sheila Scoville

Near Eastern Center Newsletter (Spring 1981)
MESA COMES TO ARIZONA

Order Form - Materials from Dr. Sheila Scoville

Tradition and Modernity in Rural Turkey
by Gul G. Turan

Sufis, Saints, and Shrines - The Popular Approach to Religion in Iran
by William R. Royce

In addition, statements made by the Outreach Coordinator to teachers at a training session on February 27, 1982 indicate a goal of correcting stereotypes and "widening peoples perceptions", which is consistent with the "rectification of the Arab image." (See Attachment A, pages 4 and 15)

The oil companies are defended by the coordinator when she refers to an Exxon supported film as follows:

Teacher: Another of my objections was the omissions in the materials. For instance, one of the things was the topic I chose on purpose to see how difficult it was and I found it very difficult -- the oil interests and so on -- is that so much of the material that is presented is presented by the oil corporations and they have a profit motive --

Coordinator: Which textbook is this?

Teacher: The ones called Persian Gulf, Oil Nations, done by the New Times--

Teacher: Okay, yeah. When you do get something from the oil companies you have to recognize that they are a profit organization, out to make money and certain things are in their best interest and I think they, it, has to be dealed with.

Coordinator: Well, I'd be very interested to see what you have in mind as ... INAUDIBLE ... from an oil corporation?

Teacher: Well, just in looking through the films and so on there was some listed there.

Coordinator: Oh, the films that we have are from Exxon, "The Traditional World of Islam Series" which -- Exxon itself did not do this, what they did is from a festival in 1976 on Islam done in Oxford, oh I'm sorry, the University of London, and they had all these fantastic exhibits up ... and all these countries participated and rather than let it by the by they had someone come in and make films out of it and then they had the films but they were very expensive and so Exxon was approached and they provided money to make copies to the United States ... They are not pursuing it from their point of view, they are merely providing the funds. They came from scholars in the field, professors from England, from the United States, so I don't think with that series that's the case.

Teacher: They would have to edit it if it had commercials on --

Coordinator: Of course, if you ever look at PNS you'll see 9/10th of what's on is provided by Mobil or Exxon cause they seem to be the only people with bucks enough to do it.

(Taken from transcript - Teachers' Workshop of 1981. See Attachment B, pages 9 and 10)

It should be clear that whatever ones viewpoint of the rights and wrongs of the Arab Israel conflict there are serious questions about the unqualified use of materials in District schools from companies (oil) with specific views and interests.

It is noteworthy that Exxon's Arabian peninsula packet was widely distributed, perhaps to 50 classes, (See Attachment B, page 25) and the Handbook for the Traditional World of Islam Film Series was provided to teachers who attend the workshop.

At the same workshop, according to participating teacher, Barbara Wayne, the bias of the coordinator appears to express itself in a direct disparagement of a leading American newspaper:

> "I was offended by a number of remarks made by Ms. Scoville which I believe indicate her identification with the Arab view. While encouraged to use the materials available at the Center, one participant was discouraged from referring to the New York Times. The Christian Science Monitor, which historically had had a very pro-Arab policy, was declared the only "reliable" jounalistic publication by Ms. Scoville." (From Barbara Wayne's letter, July 18, 1983, See Attachment C-1).

The bibliography (See Attachment D) evidences bias as well in the disproportionate presentation of the Arab position and oil company and Arab government sources.

The grant application for federal funding appears to show a bias in requesting funds for the "continued expansion of our Middle East Resource Center to house our materials on the Arab countries, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and Muslim India for use by the programs' students, the public school, by the community at large and by other state colleges and universities." (Taken from Oriental Studies - Grant Proposal, See Attachment E). There seems to be a recurrent omission of Israel.

Findings of bias are evident in the other areas discussed below, particularly in my perception of hositlity toward the Jewish Community by the Outreach coordinator.

B. The Exclusion Allegations

There appears to have been exclusion of a teacher or teachers from receiving information on the Survey course. Two of the teachers who had been in the Spring 1981 Workshop were critical of the Outreach program and criticized the coordinator's conduct of the workshop and use of materials. Both teachers recall expressing an interest in receiving follow-up information on courses, workshops, etc. They did not. The center coordinator's criteria for including names of individuals from the district was to include 5th and 6th grade teachers from each elementary, either by name or by 5th or 6th grade teacher title. One of these two teachers (Nancy Stoler) was not on the mailing list though she met the criteria as explained.

The Oriental Studies Department does not share the view of these findings. (See Attachment F).

C. Hositility to Jewish Community and Tucson Unified School District

It is important to state that prior to this investigation I had no knowledge of the Near East Center. In my initial contact with Dr. Scoville requesting basic course (Oriental Studies 497nx) information (syllabus, textbooks, etc.) I was dismayed at her emotional reaction to my inquiry based on her assumption and accusation that I was sent by the Tucson Jewish Community Council.

The position papers prepared by the Department of Oriental Studies and the reaction to them by the Tucson Jewish Community Council (available in the Compliance Office) seem to evidence this hostility which my first hand experiences seem to confirm.

Dr. Scoville's attitude toward the District was expressed at a conference with her on July 22, 1983. When asked with which officials in the district she has dealt, she stated that she wasn't sure she should name them for this might be "destining them to their death." (See Attachment G)

While I was disturbed by the lack of professionalism in these contacts, I am genuinely more disturbed from the district's point of view that information requested by me was not forthcoming in the course of this investigation, particularly in my requests for pertinent funding information and the media packet. After three or four requests, I was given only a location which constitutes the source of public information. The media packet was finally provided for me after multiple requests and, interestingly, without the cover page map which I had signaled was my concern since it had been the subject of an intense controversy between the coordinator, Dr. Scoville, and workshop participant, Nancy Stoler.

D. Effect on Teachers and Students

It appears that the Near East Center Program designed to impact on teachers may have some negative effect because of the manner of presentation.

Jewish teachers have felt the need to speak up in criticism of what they perceive as inaccurate and biased information (See Attachment C-1, C-2).

Jewish parents and students have been placed in an uncomfortable and stressful situation due to the designation of the Israeli and Jewish image (See Attachment H-1, H-2, H-3).

Nancy Stoler, one of the teachers at the workshop, reacted very negatively to the promotion of My Enemy, My Brother, a paperback novel featuring the conflicts between an Israeli boy and Palestinian boy set in the 1940s.

The coordinator promotes this book and an analogous role playing dialogue titled David and Daud. The coordinator states:

> "And then we have a very nice handout (garbled teacher discussion) it's 2 people debating the Arab/Israeli conflict--it's nice for the kids. You can have one as David and one as Daud and that provides a real nice lesson plan, too." (Taken from transcript from Workshop 1981, page 18. See Attachment B).

Comments by the coordinator and teachers at the workshop illustrate the type of atmosphere and conflict which could be engendered.

More comments from above-mentioned transcript:

Teacher: "I don't know how you feel about it, but we have a lot of Jewish students in our school, a rather high proportion, some of whom have a strong Israeli identify, uh, through their families and during the period of the Iranian hostages and so forth, there developed a lot of very negative feelings toward the Arab world, it sort of compounds, and it would be interesting; I have some particular students in mind who I have had for a couple years, you know, that opening up these doors might be the best thing that will ever happen to them.

Coordinator: Yeah, there could be a problem, maybe their parents don't particularly like them coming home saying, "Guess what?" I did have someone tell me, through the grapevine, that one teacher had presented a unit which we discussed that was on the Arabs and that one parent did object to it and it made them a bit nervous (not sure whether she is talking about the teacher or the parent).

Teacher: Well, that--that's it--I was taking it in a sense, well, obviously more a Jewish point cause I'm--that's what we're covering right now and it's been difficult in a way because the kids have no background of even knowing anyone Jewish so it's very hard to do. They are predominantly Mexican-American.

Teacher to Another Teacher: I can't believe they're from Tucson and don't know anyone Jewish (laughter). Send them up to my school, we'll have an exchange (laughter).

Such atmosphere is not altoghether positive and can be damaging to harmonious relations between parents, teachers and students.

In addition, and clearly more far reaching in significance, it appears that students and teachers without extensive background in this subject are vulnerable to misinformation which will almost certainly color their understandings of the subject matter.

E. Survey Course

The Survey Course in Middle East History (OS497nx) which triggered the present investigation involved serious irregularities. The facts about the survey course are as follows:

(1) The Continuing Education Department has no information on the course.

(2) The course listing in the Continuing Education Bulletin, Volume II, No. 2, Spring 1983 (See Attachment I) was not placed under Oriental Studies but rather under university extension (off campus classes).

(3) It was advertised in the Continuing Education Bulletin as meeting at the Lee Instruction Center (See Attachment I). Was this to indicate TUSD endorsement?

(4) A rental agreement (See Attachment J) was negotiated in October 1982, leasing the facility for one night only at a special rate of $20.00.

(5) There appears to have been very active recruitment by personal invitation to a large number of teachers, according to Dr. Gimello, based on a mailing list of approximately 500 names. The letter of confirmation of participation indicates that the meeting place was set for the gallery of the Lee Instruction Center. The implication of District cooperation, even co-sponsorship, is strongly implied (See Attachment K).

(6) The above mentioned letter states that upon completion of a mid-term exam the participant will be reimbursed the full fee of $120 ($40 per unit). The source of funds is not clear since this information was not provided by the Oriental Studies Department (See Section F, Funding Information).

(7) The original allegations about the survey course did not relate to content but rather to the past history of the instructor, the possible exclusion of teachers and the implication of District support. However, I find that the content is significant in the in the following respects. The title of the course "Survey History of the Middle East" 497nx. The course description (See Attachment I) states:

> "Mainly oriented to serve the interests and needs of educators, this course will survey the history of the Middle East during the period 600 - 1950. It will focus on the people, cultures, religions, and major historical events of the era, which will be presented within a conceptualized framework under such topics as world trade, exploration, governmental structures, colonialism, nationalism, and development. The course will emphasize the relationships and interaction of Western historical events and experiences with those found in the Middle East during the same chronological periods."

The choice of dates and texts are indicative of the tendency of the Outreach Program's intent to exclude information about Israel as compared to the Arab countries. In addition the Media Packet (See Attachment L), written by Dr. Scoville and distributed by the U of A Outreach Center, was provided to class participants. This is inconsistent with the dates since it is a 1981 analysis. This packet is the subject of serious controversy in terms of charges of its inaccuracy and bias (See Attachements C-2, M, and N).

There appears, in summary, to have been a circumvention of appropriate authority by Outreach personnel in recruiting and paying district teachers while using various means to suggest to the public that there was District cooperation. Truthfully there might be a way of explaining each of these irregularities in isolation but in no way can the entire series of events be explained.

Most critically what has surfaced in the investigation of this course is the existence of computerized lists of teachers, the majority identified by name, in virtually every District school (K-12).

It is obvious that there has been great effort made in personally identifying District educators, apparently in order to implement the Outreach Program Curriculum in the District.

F. Funding Information

Teachers attending the Survey Course were reimbursed the full fee of $120.00 or $40.00 per unit (See Attachment K). To date, however, the source of those funds has not been clarified by the Department of Oriental Studies. This information was officially requested of Dr. Gimello on July 22 and again on August 23. In response to a third request made on September 6, I was told by Dr. Scoville to contact Sponsor Projects at the University and that the information was public (See Attachment O). I did press the issue with both Gimello and Scoville as to the district's need to have information regarding funding sources. The representations by Dr. Scoville were that (1) the center had multiple sources of funds, and (2) there was only one account into which the various funds were funnelled. Therefore, it would not be possible to be specific about the source of reimbursement.

It should also be pointed out that whatever cash funds are provided to the Outreach Center from whatever sources, the inclusion of a large number of films, books, packets, generally provided free of charge by oil companies, Arab governments and organizations, such as the Arab Information Center, constitute a measure of funding as well.

G. Proposal

In April of 1983 the Near Eastern Center submitted a Grant Proposal to the Department of Education. The Proposal includes several components, one of which is Outreach Activities, directed by Dr. Sheila Scoville. These activities have as their intended participants three primary groups, one of which is educators. The proposal states, "... Outreach activity includes collaboration within Tucson Unified School District One (which is the largest in the State of Arizona)..." This collaberative agreement, according to Dr. Scoville, was made through "contact" with the following District employees: Mrs. Virginia Hecht/Librarian, Mr. Bob Klingenfus/Assistant Director, Social Studies, and Pat Hasley.

When questioned about this Mr. Klingenfus stated that he had, in the past, written letters of support for the Center but that he could not find one in his file for this particular proposal (See Attachment P).

Of course, the issue here is that an individuals letter of personal support does not constitute the District's official statement of collaboration. Moreover, it appears that the TUSD officials who are in a position to offer official TUSD suport were not even notified in this matter.

Does the University of Arizona presume to be able to base funding requests on collaboration with Arizona's largest school district and at the same time refuse to provide us with the most basic information to allow us to insure propriety within the District.

Conclusion

Findings of fact in this investigation beginning with, but not limited to the Survey Course on the Middle East History, evidence a thread of impropriety woven throughout the activities of the Near Eastern Center.

The following conclusions and recommendations are submitted in the hope of preventing a reoccurrence of these problems in the future.

I find the appearance of bias, the promotion of a pro-Arab/anti-Israeli viewpoint (including materials financed by major oil companies) irregularities in the manner District facilities were used, the possible exclusion of a District teacher from an Oriental Studies 497nx, Outreach Program, Extension Course - Continuing Education Course, unusual reimbursement of monies to teachers participating in Outreach programs, unanswered questions regarding sources of funding (for reimbursement), and misrepresentation to the U. S. Department of Education about the relationship of the Outreach program and the Tucson Unified School District.

In general, the Outreach Program appears to constitute unauthorized activities within the District which are of a highly political nature.

As a result a bias is introduced which has no place in our academic environment and to the extent that the bias appears as purposeful toward the goal of widening perceptions or rectifying an image, it could be construed as a form of propoganda. The danger posed to otherwise harmonious religious or racial relations among teachers, students, and even parents is serious and altogether unnecessary.

TUSD does not tolerate the presentation of biased materials promoting defamation of a culture, race, sex, or religion in order to rectify the image of another culture, race, sex, or religion. It is unethical and unsound in an educational system to impugne the image of one people in order to build the image of another people.

Recommendations

(1) The Outreach has been fraught with irregularities, has never been officially sanctioned and appears vulnerable to political bias. Therefore while we would encourage teachers to avail themselves of any program which interests them, it should be made clear that TUSD does not and should not collaborate with the Outreach Program nor subsidize teachers/librarians for their individual participation.

(2) Incremental pay for the Survey Course should not be granted as that would further be construed as District approval for this course and its contribution to our educators and students.

(3) The U. S. Department of Education should be contacted immediately and be provided with accurate information involving the District. Otherwise, funding may be provided on a false premise to the Outreach Program.

SC/ts
Attachments

TUCSON UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

POSITION STATEMENT

September 16, 1983

A report has just been received by the Superintendent that shows evidence of bias in the operation of the Near East Center Outreach Program in the Oriental Studies department at the University of Arizona. Tucson Unified School District's position is one of concern because:

1. The Near East Outreach Program has actively and selectively recruited district teachers for participation in this program;
2. The Near East Outreach Program provided materials intended for classroom use, and required participants' preparation of specific lesson plans;
3. Participants were reimbursed for course fees, creating an unusual financial incentive;
4. Funding sources which support the University program have the potential effect of creating a profound and intrinsic bias in philosophy, content and materials.

Tucson Unified School District adheres to and upholds the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibit discrimination in educational programs on the basis of race, color, creed, national origin, sex or handicap. It is the district's position that the Near East Center's Outreach Program, including but not limited to a survey course entitled "History of the Middle East", could encourage a violation of those provisions.

On the basis of the district's findings, two actions are being considered:

1. Increment credit will not be awarded to teachers on the basis of participation in the program.
2. The University's claim of collaboration with the school district in regard to the program is in error. The United States Department of Education will be informed of that fact.

TUCSON CITIZEN
EDITORIAL

Monday, October 3, 1983

TUSD takes right steps

The public may be forgiven for being confused over the controversy surrounding the University of Arizona's Near Eastern Center. The Tucson Jewish Community Council had charged that the center's Outreach Program contained pro-Arab bias, and two reports investigating the charge seemed to contradict each other.

The Outreach Program sponsors events to educate the public about the Middle East and conducts courses for public-school teachers. Because the schools are involved, a Tucson Unified School District official investigated the program and found "... the appearance of bias, the promotion of a pro-Arab/anti-Israeli viewpoint (including materials financed by major oil companies) ..." and stated that "in general, the Outreach Program appears to constitute unauthorized activities within the district that are of a highly political nature."

A few days later, a panel appointed by the UA president reported: "Although certain passages in the works reviewed might be seen as expressing particular points of view, we find no systematic pattern of bias in the works." The report also called the course material "generally superficial and uninspired" and "lacking in depth."

What's going on? Are the reports contradictory?

The answer lies in the comment of the panel of experts that did the study for the UA. In submitting their report, the members noted that they were university professors without experience in teaching or designing courses of study for lower grades.

At the university level, then, the Outreach Program's material, though it may be "superficial and uninspired," is not out of place. Adults should be able to determine whether course material is "lacking in depth" and, it is hoped, do outside reading, think, and draw their own conclusions.

At pre-university levels, though, such material is not appropriate. Most children tend to swallow whole whatever they are taught in class, and they don't have the maturity or judgment of university students.

That's why parents should be concerned about materials used in the classroom that could present a one-sided view, in this case what the TUSD report called "blatant pro-Arab, subtle anti-Israel" material.

And parents should applaud the decisions of TUSD administrators to withhold credit for the outreach course from teachers who attended (and were reimbursed the $120 class fee by the Near Eastern Center) and to prohibit teachers from using slanted materials in the classrooms.

As a result, the freedom of the university is not abridged, and TUSD classrooms are not compromised.

Middle East Studies Association of North America
Department of Oriental Studies
University of Arizona
Tucson, Arizona 85721
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October 7, 1985

The Honorable William Ford
Chairman
Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education
Committee on Education and Labor
United States House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Chairman Ford:

On behalf of the Board of Directors of the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA) I would like to respond to the testimony of Ms. Carol Karsch, Vice President of the Jewish Federation of Southern Arizona, who spoke to the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education on September 7, 1985, in an open hearing on the reauthorization of Title VI programs. As a faculty member at the University of Arizona I could also respond to Ms. Karsch's statements about the controversy surrounding the Outreach Program of the Near Eastern Center at the University of Arizona, but I will focus only on the charges and allegations made against MESA.

As a preface, I should state that MESA was organized in 1966 by a group of American and Canadian scholars to promote high standards of scholarship and instruction in Middle East studies and to facilitate communication among scholars and students through meetings and publications. The association was founded in response to the increasing number of scholars interested in the Islamic and contemporary Middle East periods, a natural outgrowth of the funding made available by the National Defense Education Act of 1958. From a group of only several hundred scholars in the early years, MESA has grown to an organization with a membership of 1,400 scholars, students and others who have an interest in this period of the Middle East. Our journals, the International Journal of Middle East Studies and the MESA Bulletin are regarded as two of the most valuable journals for the scholarship of the Middle East.

Ms. Karsch essentially charges that MESA is leading a concerted propagandist effort to promote the "Arab Image," even growing "into a political advocacy group for the Arab cause" (p. 16). She bases her allegations mainly upon her interpretation of the publication The Image of the Middle East in Secondary School Textbooks by William J. Griswold, which was published a decade ago (in 1975, but not by Colorado State University as erroneously stated in her Endnotes). The study did originate from an Image Committee sponsored by MESA, but there was no preconceived or hidden agenda for the study, and Ms. Karsh is in error when she makes statements such as "MESA appointed a special committee to select materials which present the Middle East properly, i.e. from MESA's perspective" (p. 14), or that "MESA's goal [was] to mold the attitudes of American students...." (p. 15). MESA has no "perspective" on the Middle East, nor does it engage in an effort to mold opinions. Ms. Karsch also failed to point out that on the inside of the front cover of the Image Report it is stated: "Views expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the Middle East Studies Association." MESA, in fact, staunchly refuses to endorse any political position or to make any statements regarding the various events or conflicts in the Middle East. The association is principally one of academics (primarily from North America, Europe, and the Middle East) who have joined together with the purpose of promoting scholarship in Middle Eastern studies. Individual members may have various views, but the association does not promote (or endorse) any particular viewpoint or perspective. I should mention that of the states of the Middle East represented in our membership, Israel has by far the most members, including most of the outstanding Middle East scholars from that nation.

Ms. Karsch's argument also is based upon linking MESA with the Middle East Outreach Council (MEOC), for "by 1980 the field of Middle East studies was ripe for exploitation and propagation of a monopolized viewpoint" (p. 17). She notes that MEOC was incorporated in Arizona in 1980, and she states that MEOC "established a central coordinating committee, closely linked to MESA..." (p. 17). Although MESA has no objections to the goals or activities of MEOC, the two organizations are separate and independent, and there is no link or coordination between the two organizations. Of course, many members of MEOC are members of MESA, but this is also true for the members of the American Institute for Yemeni Studies, the American Institute of Maghrebi Studies, the Middle East Librarians Association, the Society for Iranian Studies, the American Association of Teachers of Arabic, the Turkish Studies Association, the Society for Armenian Studies, and numerous other professional, scholarly organizations. It should be pointed out as well that the Secretariat of MESA was moved to the University of Arizona from New York University in 1981, a year after MEOC was incorporated in Arizona - and the implied link between the two organizations because they were both at the University of Arizona is not true.

Since MESA is interested in promoting open discussion of the Middle East, the association does speak out on issues that affect academic freedom. MESA has officially endorsed the "1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure" as set forth by the American Association of University Professors and the Association of American Colleges. Among other things, the document states: "The intent of this statement is not to discourage what is 'controversial.' Controversy is at the heart of the free academic inquiry which the entire statement is designed to foster." In 1982 MESA passed a resolution entitled "Freedom of Expression and Equality in Hiring and Promotion in Middle East Studies," partly as a response to verbal and physical attacks upon a professor related to the Turkish-Armenian controversy. In 1984 MESA passed a resolution affirming academic freedom and open debate, and deploring the use of blacklists or unsubstantiated accusations. This was a response to complaints by members concerning: 1) a confidential document disseminated by the New England Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith which listed certain students, teachers, and researchers as "pro-Arab propagandists," who "use their anti-Zionism as merely a guise for their deeply felt anti-Semitism" and 2) a "Survey of Political Activism" disseminated by the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) to gather information on students and faculty on American university campuses (and which eventually resulted in a 196 page book, the AIPAC College Guide: Exposing the Anti-Israel Campaign on Campus). The purpose of the MESA resolution was to call attention to the potential harm which can result from lists and surveys of individuals which are based on the circumstantial evidence of religion, race, ethnicity, association, participation in public events, or affiliation with organizations.

Ms. Karsch charges that "according to several academics closely associated with the organization (who usually spoke on condition of anonymity), MESA has begun to evidence increasing politicization and pro-Arab bias during the late 1970's" (p. 6). This statement is not a correct assessment of the association. What has happened, however, is that the field of Middle Eastern studies has become an increasingly politicized field, and this has manifested itself more and more on university campuses. That such a situation has developed is due more to groups who do have a particular ideological viewpoint on the Middle East to promote - such as the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee or, as evidenced from the affair with the outreach program at the Near Eastern Center of the University of Arizona, the Jewish Federation of Southern Arizona (formerly the Tucson Jewish Community Center).

As a point of fact, I should also note that Ms. Karsch states that the starting point for the MESA "Image Study" began in 1971 and that the intellectual roots of the "movement" was stirred by Professor Edward Said's writings (and she of course notes that he is a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization's National Council - the type of guilt by association which the 1984 MESA resolution deplored) (p. 15). Actually, Professor Said's Orientalism was not published until 1978 - seven years after the formation of the Image Committee and three years after the publication of the Image Report.

In closing, I must comment on Ms. Karch's perception of Middle East studies. On page 16 she states that the study of the region has become virtually synonymous with the study of Islam, that Middle East scholars carefully avoid the expression of views friendly to Israel, or that "students interested in Zionism or Israel gravitate to the congenial disciplines of political science or international relations, leaving Middle East studies to the Arabists." Even though Ms. Karsch is a MESA member and even attended the last annual meeting held in San Francisco in November 1984, she evidently has not taken the time to see the content or the diversity of articles and papers in MESA's publications and conference papers. In fact, the congenial political scientists constitute the second largest group of MESA members (after historians), with over 250 members. There are less than 100 Arabists; only about 50 members are specialists in the study of Islam. In their preoccupation with the Arab-Israeli conflict and the defense of Israel, Ms. Karsch and the Jewish Federation of Southern Arizona have overlooked the Turks, Iranians, Christians - and Jews; they have failed to understand the great diversity of the Middle East; and they have failed to understand what constitutes Middle East studies.

It is precisely because of such misunderstandings that the Title VI Program of the Department of Education is so vital and important. The foreign language and area study programs which are supported by these funds constitute a most valuable national resource. We hope that the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education will continue to see that need and to continue to recommend funding for the Title VI Program.

Sincerely,

Michael E. Bonine
Executive Secretary

cc: MESA Board of Directors
Robert L. Staab, President MEOC

They Dare to Speak Out

PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS CONFRONT ISRAEL'S LOBBY

by Paul Findley

Lawrence Hill & Company
WESTPORT, CONNECTICUT

To our grandsons
Andrew and Cameron—
may they always be able
to speak without fear

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Chapter 8

Tucson: Case Study in Intimidation

In November 1980, Sheila Scoville, outreach coordinator at the University of Arizona's Near Eastern Center, was visited in her office by a short, balding man in his late forties. His immediate purpose was to borrow a book, but as he left he remarked: "I understand you are running a pro-Arab propaganda network."

The man was Boris Kozolchyk, a law professor at the University of Arizona and vice-chair of the Community Relations Committee of the Tucson Jewish Community Council. Kozolchyk's remark signaled the beginning of a three-year attack against the Near Eastern Center that would culminate in the barring of outreach materials from local public schools and the resignation of the center's director. The attack, orchestrated by local Jewish community leaders, succeeded despite the finding of a panel of nationally known Middle East scholars that charges of anti-Israel bias in the program were groundless.

The details of Tucson's long ordeal constitute a noteworthy case study of the unrelenting commitment and resourcefulness of pro-Israel activists at the community level.

The Near Eastern Center, devoted to increasing knowledge and understanding of the Middle East, is one of only eleven such facilities in the United States which receive federal funding. To qualify for federal support, each of these centers must devote a portion of its resources to "outreach" and educational programs for the local community. These may take the form of films, public lectures, information and consultation services, seminars for businessmen, or curriculum development for the public schools.

Sheila Scoville had been coordinating these outreach activities for the University of Arizona for four years when the Tucson Jewish Community Council began making its complaints. With a Ph.D. in Middle East history from UCLA, she was well qualified for the job and had made the Tucson outreach program one of the most active programs in the country. Scoville, a petite blond in her late thirties, had also co-founded the Middle East Outreach Council, the coordinating body for the eleven Middle East outreach programs in the United States.

In February 1981, Kozolchyk and three other representatives of the Tucson Jewish Community Council (TJCC) contacted William Dever, chairman of the Oriental Studies Department of which the Near Eastern Center is a part. They told Dever that in their opinion both Scoville and Near Eastern Center Director Ludwig Adamec had an "anti-Israeli bias which called into question their objectivity about the Middle East." Dever said that the authority for the outreach program rested with the federal government, which provided most of the funds. He suggested that the group form an official committee and gave them, in his own words, "carte blanche" to check out any of the Near Eastern Center's outreach materials. He even said that he would "personally remove" from the library shelves any materials which the Tucson Jewish Community Council found offensive. In a later meeting which Adamec attended, the director of the Near Eastern Center responded: "We do not have anything inflammatory or propagandistic. You tell me which books you find that way. I'll look at them, and if I agree I'll tell Sheila to throw them in the wastepaper basket." But Kozolchyk and the others rejected this offer. Their aims were more ambitious.

Following Dever's advice, the TJCC formed a committee of four women who called themselves "concerned teachers." (Only two of them were actually teachers, both at the private Tucson Hebrew Academy.) Dever then introduced the group to Sheila Scoville and told her to provide them whatever help them required in conducting their investigation.

Among the four women were Carol Karsch, co-chair of the TJCC Community Relations Committee and wife of the president of Tucson's largest conservative synagogue. Karsch was to join Kozolchyk as a major figure in the attack against the outreach program. The group first met with Scoville and "grilled" her, as she recalls it, about her activities. They asked for a copy of her mailing list and for the names of teachers who had checked out materials from the library. Then the group, permitted to enter the Near Eastern Center after hours, set to work collecting and reviewing library materials. By May, the four women had prepared a "preliminary report."

Instead of returning to Dever with their findings, the TJCC committee complained directly to the U.S. Department of Education. Carol Karsch wrote the letter to Washington, attaching to it the group's report. The report questioned the use of federal funds to promote outreach "in an area so inherently complex and conflictive [sic] as Middle East studies."

The report strongly suggested that the ultimate aim of the TJCC was to shut down the outreach program altogether:

> Even if numerous materials were added objectively portraying Israel and her interests, coupled with the removal of objectionable and propagandistic material regarding the Arab viewpoint, the problem would still exist.
>
> It is the outreach function *per se* (and not the implementation by any specific institution) which ought to be addressed.

The Department of Education replied to the TJCC that it was not responsible for the content or scholarly quality of the outreach material, which was the responsibility of the university.

Accordingly, the TJCC again focused on the university. A delegation from the council visited the office of university president John Schaefer and complained to him of the anti-Israeli bias they perceived in the outreach materials. After assuring the group that all such materials must conform to university standards, Schaefer referred the matter to Dean Paul Rosenblatt of the Liberal Arts College. Rosenblatt arranged a meeting on October 5, 1981, between representatives of the TJCC and members of the Oriental Studies Department faculty. Sheila Scoville was not invited. At that meeting the new head of the Oriental Studies Department, Robert Gimello, suggested that the TJCC "document more specifically" its concerns so that his department could provide a response. At the same time, Gimello agreed to set up an ad hoc committee within the Oriental Studies Department to review the outreach program.

The TJCC seized this opportunity and, armed with additional library materials, set to work on its report. None of those who reviewed the materials had any academic credentials in the Middle East field. On March 19, 1982, it presented a document of nearly one hundred pages to the university. It included reviews of fifteen Near Eastern Center publications, eight books, five pamphlets and bibliographies, and two teachers' guides. The report objected to one book's reference to Palestine as "the traditional homeland of the Arabs" and another description of the Palestine Liberation Organization as "the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." It faulted a map for failing to designate Jerusalem as the capital of Israel—even though, of course, not even the United States recognizes it as such—and cited "the pervasive theme throughout most materials that Jews are interlopers in an area that rightfully belongs to the Arabs."

Among the twelve appendices to the report was a "memorandum of law" prepared by a Tucson attorney, Paul Bartlett. He contended that the outreach center violated the First Amendment to the Constitution as well as eligibility guidelines for federal funds by trying to "eliminate the Israeli point of view from the spectrum of views presented to the public schools and the press regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict." The memorandum contended further that the program violated the constitutional separation of church and state by showing "a religious preference with respect to the Middle East" since it "advances the religion of Islam and consciously belittles the connection between the Jewish religion and the Middle East."

The report was co-authored by Boris Kozolchyk and Carol Karsch, with the help of four volunteers: a rabbi, an agricultural economist who had studied in Israel, and a non-Jewish couple (the husband a lawyer and the wife an elementary school teacher).

Gimello welcomed the report as a "thoughtful, well-intentioned community response." The ad hoc committee within Gimello's Oriental Studies Department was itself ill-equipped to make a scholarly review of the outreach program, as its five members included a Japanese linguist, an Indian rural anthropologist and Gimello himself, an expert on Buddhism. Of the five committee members, only two had a Middle East background: one a specialist in Arabic literature, and one in Jewish history. Adamec did not participate in the committee's work because he had gone on a six-month sabbatical to Pakistan in January. Sheila Scoville was not consulted.

After receiving the TJCC report in March, the ad hoc committee met regularly for two months to review the materials it criticized and to try to decide what to do about it. In May, 1982, as the academic year drew to a close with the work still unfinished and several members of the committee due to leave for the summer, the committee adopted an interim response that shocked many: "Pending, and without prejudice to, the final resolution of our deliberations, the Near East Center's outreach program will suspend its distribution of materials to elementary and secondary schools."

The suspension of the outreach program was an unexpected victory for the TJCC, which named Kozolchyk and Karsch "Man and Woman of the Year" at its annual awards dinner in June. The four volunteers who had helped them were also presented with "Special Recognition" awards for their "scholarly and objective analyses."

But the victory celebration proved to be premature. When Near East Center Director Ludwig Adamec returned from Pakistan in mid-August, he was incensed at the action of the Oriental Studies Department. He dispatched a memo to all department faculty drawing their attention to the TJCC campaign against the outreach program and to the ad hoc committee's action. The TJCC report, he said, was not scholarly and was replete with ad hominem attacks, false issues and innuendo. Adamec said the closing of the outreach program was ill-advised, premature and done without the committee's consulting expert opinion: "It is utterly inappropriate that a committee of scholars without expertise in the field" judge the matter.

Adamec's annoyance increased when he saw the headlines in an early September issue of the student newspaper: "Interim Report: Department Drops Anti-Israel Materials." In a statement to the editor of the student newspaper, Adamec wrote:

> Our center does not contain any "anti-Israeli" materials; it contains books and other items which discuss the Middle East, including Israel. . . . Our books have been selected on the basis of expert recommendation and it would not be feasible to proceed in a manner different from, let's say, the university library, which does not endorse the material contained on its shelves.
>
> Naturally, we want to enjoy the friendship and support of all segments of the community in Arizona and therefore we give serious consideration to the concerns of all. I do not think there is any need to make sensational copy about an issue which has now been resolved.

But the issue was far from resolved. With strong encouragement from Adamec, Gimello prepared a memo reversing the suspension of the Outreach Center and containing the ad hoc committee's "Final Response" to the TJCC report. After acknowledging the right of community groups to comment on and criticize the university's outreach program, the memo stated that the members of the Department of Oriental Studies reserved to themselves the final authority to evaluate the academic merit of any of their programs. The memo took "strong exception" to TJCC personal criticism of Sheila Scoville and Ludwig Adamec and, in particular, "the attribution to them of certain political biases":

> It happens that both scholars deny the accusations in question, but more important than the truth or falsity of the accusations is the fact that they are irrelevant and out of order. Members of our department are entitled to whatever political views they may choose to hold. . . . The university in any free and open society is by design an arena of dispute and contention, and it does not cease to be such an arena when it engages in community outreach. . . . For all of these reasons, we have resolved not to close our outreach program. Neither will we discard any of the books we use in that program, or keep them under lock and key, or burn them.

The memo stressed the need to offer the community a variety of opinions on the Middle East, "a variety with which any citizen must be familiar before he can responsibly, intelligently and freely formulate his

own opinions." The ad hoc committee found, however, "in the whole array of the program's holdings, no general pattern of political discrimination and no evidence that political palatability, to any group, has ever been used as a criterion in the selection of materials."

The TJCC had contended that the materials used in the outreach program, while suitable for use within the university, were inappropriate for use in elementary and secondary schools because younger students lacked the sophistication to understand them. Gimello's memo pointed out that the immediate clientele of the Outreach Center was not the students but their teachers and that the final decisions as to which materials were suitable for their younger charges should be left up to the teachers.

Carol Karsch then launched a personal attack on William Dever, Gimello's predecessor as head of the Oriental Studies Department. Dever was an archaeologist who had done much digging in Israel. He had returned in August from a year's sabbatical in Israel and was dependent on Israeli goodwill for much of his archaeological research. In late October, three weeks after receiving the department's "Final Response," Karsch told Shalom Paul, a visiting Israeli professor about to return to Tel Aviv, that Dever was no longer a friend of Israel. Karsch told Paul to go back and spread the word so that Dever would "never again dig in Israel." Karsch did not realize that Professor Paul was a close friend of Dever's and had no intention of carrying such a message back to Israel. Instead, he got word back to Dever of his conversation with Karsch before leaving Tucson.

With this information, Dever sent Mrs. Karsch an angry letter saying, in part:

> I have reason to believe that you (and perhaps others) have attempted to implicate me in charges of: (1) obstructing the Jewish Community Council's "investigation" of this department's outreach program while I was Head; (2) threatening to undermine the Judaic Studies Program if you pursued your investigation; (3) instigating the reopening of the outreach program when I returned from Israel last August; and (4) participating in a deliberate arrangement to keep Jewish faculty from serving on the department's newly-appointed committee to oversee the Near East Center and its outreach program. I have also learned from more than one recent, direct source that I have now been labeled publicly in the Jewish Community as 'anti-Zionist' and even 'anti-Semitic.'

Dever denied all of the charges and said that "far from obstructing your investigation, the record will show that I was both candid and cooperative—which neither you nor other members of your group have been." Noting that his research, professional standing and livelihood had been jeopardized, Dever told Karsch that he considered the attack grounds for legal action and signed his letter: "Awaiting your response, William Dever."

There was no response. Instead, Carol Karsch and Boris Kozolchyk sent to the university a scathing "Reply to the Department of Oriental Studies' Final Response," calling that document a "smokescreen" and demanding that the department rebut the TJCC charges point by point. Once again, the department agreed to accommodate the TJCC. From December 10 to December 29, 1982, Middle East area faculty drafted a 330-page "Extended and Detailed Response to the Tucson Jewish Community Council's Report on Middle East Outreach at the University of Arizona." The document was presented to the new university president, Henry Koffler, who had succeeded Schaefer in September.

Outside Experts Get Sidetracked

President Koffler was new to Tucson and was desirous of integrating himself with the community. He had addressed a meeting of Haddasah, the women's Zionist organization, within a few months of his arrival. Instead of endorsing the Oriental Studies Department's report, he decided to bring to Tuscon a panel of Middle East scholars from around the country who would investigate the TJCC charges, review the outreach materials, and serve as arbiters of the dispute.

Koffler asked the TJCC and the Oriental Studies Department each to present a list of eight scholars. Each side could then veto half of the other side's choices. From the final list of eight scholars Koffler selected four: Richard Frye of Harvard, Carl Brown of Princeton, William Brinner of Berkeley and Nahum Glatzer of Boston University. It was agreed that the four scholars would meet in Tucson from July 29 to August 1, 1983 to examine the charges against the outreach program and to decide whether each item of material contested by the TJCC was "essentially scholarly or essentially propagandistic."

In the meantime, Koffler ordered the faculty and staff of the Department of Oriental Studies not to speak to the press or to take the matter outside the university. The TJCC, not content to await the decision of the scholars, observed no such discretion.

First, with the help of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council in New York, the TJCC again brought the matter to the attention of the U.S. Department of Education in Washington. The associate director of the New York organization sent a letter to Edward Elmendorf, assistant secretary for post secondary education, repeating the TJCC's objections to the outreach program. The TJCC sent a copy of its report attacking the program to Elmendorf and to U.S. Representative James McNulty and U.S. Senator Dennis DeConcini, both of Arizona. In a letter to the DOE, DeConcini said that if the TJCC's charges were correct, "then the federal funding from the Department of Education for this type of project should be terminated immediately." The Senator from Arizona asked in his letter for a complete federal investigation of the charges.

Responding to the two Congressmen, the Department of Education pointed out that it was federal policy to leave the evaluation of publications and other academic materials to "normal academic channels" and that the impending meeting of the panel of experts "should lead to a mutually satisfactory resolution of this matter."

When Adamec learned of the steps the TJCC had taken, he sent a letter to President Koffler in which he suggested that Koffler ask the TJCC why it carried its complaint outside the university after agreeing to Koffler's arbitration efforts. Adamec also questioned the motivation for the TJCC action "at a time when our application for [renewal of federal] funding in national competition is being decided." He suggested that "our accusers want to hurt our chances of being selected."

When, despite these efforts, the center received its federal funding for the following academic year, Senator DeConcini and Representative McNulty wrote jointly to U.S. Secretary of Education Terrence Bell complaining that the "funding cycle had been completed" without the peer review group's being provided with the TJCC report documenting "possible propagandizing through the outreach program." They appealed to Bell, "as the only official who can temporarily halt the funding," to do so and to order the complete investigation that DeConcini had earlier requested.

Secretary Bell responded to the two Congressmen with a letter stating that "Federal interference would be unwarranted and illegal." Wrote Bell: "Questions of academic freedom as well as of state and local control of education also enter in here." Despite his generally firm position on the matter, Bell did seek to appease the indignant Congressmen by informing them that he would "encourage the university to suspend its dissemination of the contested materials pending the outcome of the local committee proceedings."

While the TJCC was enlisting the aid of Congress, Ludwig Adamec learned that he was being attacked by Boris Kozolchyk. In a letter to university President Koffler, Adamec charged that Kozolchyk had made "untrue statements about my background and personal life." In particular, he wrote, Kozolchyk had told members of the university's Department of Judaic Studies that Adamec was "a member of the German Wehrmacht during World War II." He had also told Professor Dever that Adamec had been "arrested as a Nazi." Finally, Kozolchyk claimed that Adamec had, at a public gathering, characterized Israel as a "pirate state." Adamec had in fact been arrested as a teenager by the Nazis for trying to escape into Switzerland from his native Austria. After a year and a half in jail, he was sent to a concentration camp where he remained until the end of the war. In his letter, he simply said that all of the charges were ridiculous and wrote:

> I do not know Dr. Kozolchyk and cannot imagine what is the purpose of these slanderous remarks other than to make me appear unfit to carry out my duties as a professor of Middle East studies and as director of the Near East Center, which I have founded and managed since 1975.

He asked that the university's grievance committee reprimand Kozolchyk and require him to desist from his defamatory campaign.

But Kozolchyk and the TJCC were not to be deterred. Having failed to get satisfaction from Washington, they turned their attention to the local community and, in particular, the local school district. In May 1983, the TJCC delivered a copy of its attack on the outreach program to Jack Murrieta, assistant superintendent of the Tucson Unified School District. In addition, the TJCC made fresh allegations to Murrieta about a new course that Sheila Scoville had taught during the spring semester called "Survey of the Middle East." Without giving the university a chance to respond to the charges, Murrieta sent out a memorandum to the eight high school teachers and librarians who had taken Scoville's course. The memorandum notified the teachers that the school district would not offer salary increase credits for the course "pending investigation" and would not allow textbooks or teaching aids from the course in district classrooms without approval from each teacher's supervisor.

One of those who received a copy of Murrieta's memorandum was Robert Gimello. The head of the Oriental Studies Department was angered that the school district should take such an action without consulting his department. First of all, the course was new, and had not been included in the original TJCC attack of 1982. Moreover, in a deliberate attempt not to exacerbate the ongoing controversy, Sheila Scoville had avoided the modern period of Middle East history altogether, ending her course with the establishment of Israel in 1948. In a letter to Murrieta, Gimello defended Scoville and refuted the new TJCC allegations:

> There has, in fact, been no discrimination in enrollment; neither the materials used in the course nor the manner of their presentation has been propagandistic in nature; and we are confident that the course violates no federal guidelines. Claims to the contrary are profoundly offensive to us not only because they are untrue but also because they would appear to be part of a concerted attempt to interfere with the free dissemination of information and legitimate scholarly opinion.

But Murrieta maintained his "lock-out" of the outreach program. The teachers, who had received his memorandum the day after completing the final exam for the course, were enraged and a group of them took the matter to the Arizona Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU agreed with the teachers that the school district action represented "a potential violation of academic freedom rights" and consented to represent them. ACLU Associate Director Helen Mautner met with Murietta and another school district official to discuss the issue. In a letter sent later to the president and other members of the school board, she said she had had the distinct impression that much of her conversation with the school district officials was "full of either deliberate obfuscation on their part or evasiveness." Mautner wrote that she was "dismayed" that the district had taken such action after the employees had finished the course and with what appeared to be "very little attempt to ascertain some facts" or to discuss the matter "with both sides of the controversy." The ACLU decided, nevertheless, to await the judgment of the blue ribbon panel concerning the charges of bias before pressing suit against the district.

Meanwhile, arrangements for the blue ribbon panel proceeded, growing more complex with each letter exchanged between President Koffler and the TJCC. The list of items which the TJCC wanted the panel to cover incuded: the outreach materials themselves and their "networking" among outreach coordinators, the choice of emphasis in their presentation and distribution, their effect on children, foreign government and oil company sponsorship, the perception of university endorsement, Scoville's workshop for teachers and her new survey course, the funding, administration and supervision of the outreach program, and the Department of Oriental Studies' defense of the program.

Koffler decided, with the agreement of the TJCC, that the panel would deal only with some of the items. The university would then carry out a separate investigation of the others.

On July 15, the University of Arizona controversy finally broke into the public domain. Once again, breaking its word of keeping the matter private, the TJCC had given copies of its report to the local press. Articles appeared simultaneously in the two major Tucson dailies, while a local television program carried interviews with Carol Karsch of the TJCC, Sylvia Campoy of the Tucson Unified School District, and ACLU official Helen Mautner. Meanwhile, the department's response to the now public charges against it remained, as ever, under virtual lock and key. Moreover, under orders from President

Koffler not to speak to the press. Gimello, Adamec and Scoville could neither answer reporters' questions nor appear on television programs.

The newspapers quoted liberally from the TJCC report, including its contention that "a national effort linking corporate and Arab interests was promoting the dissemination of [outreach] materials" and that "the vast majority of materials evinced, to varying degrees, an unmistakable bias and inaccuracy." Carol Karsch informed television viewers of the program's "systematic exclusion of materials on Israel" and said that the outreach program and Department of Oriental Studies were "in the position of being an advocate for one side of a difficult, complex political issue."

The morning the story hit the press, Sheila Scoville received a number of phone calls from newspaper and television reporters, all wanting the department's side of the controversy. "But I couldn't say anything," recalled Scoville later, lamenting the gag rule imposed by President Koffler. Robert Gimello felt similarly frustrated and finally wrote a long letter to Koffler. He said that one of the several reporters whom he had dodged throughout the day had finally managed to reach him late at night. "It was clear from what the reporter told me—as it is from the article in this morning's *Star*—that he had in his possession documents of TJCC authorship," wrote Gimello. The chairman of the Oriental Studies Department had fended off the reporter's questions "even to the point of not answering when he asked about whether or not we had ever formally replied to the TJCC's report." Wrote Gimello:

> I did feel it necessary, however, to make the one brief and entirely unelaborated observation that the Department of Oriental Studies does not believe that its Middle East Outreach Program reflects the anti-Israeli, pro-Arab bias that has been alleged . . . particularly in view of the fact that the reporter had at his disposal the whole array of TJCC charges and arguments.

Gimello said that his department had sought to abide by the ground rules relating to the adjudication panel and had refrained from public argument with the TJCC. "The TJCC, however, has not done the same," he wrote. ". . . This latest press flap seems to me to be only the most recent in a series of bad-faith actions."

Gimello said the situation was developing to the considerable disadvantage of his department. "The charges against us have been made public in all their detail and in all their scurrilousness. As a result, I suspect that it will be henceforth very difficult for my colleagues and myself to refrain from making statements in our own defense." The fairness and success of the adjudication process, said Gimello, depended on "both sides playing by the rules." Gimello then stated that

the TJCC's charges were not only "untrue and profoundly offensive" but that "they threaten to do us real harm." He ended his anguished letter by suggesting that the mere announcement of the panel procedure was not enough and that something had to be said in the department's behalf. Gimello told the university president: "I now think we stand in need of your support."

While the "gag order" prevented representatives of the Oriental Studies Department from providing some balance to the press coverage, Tucson's two daily papers did find teachers who had taken Scoville's course and were willing to speak in her defense. One teacher said the TJCC charges "smacked of almost an open insult." Another said that the suggestion that the teachers were being given propaganda that later would be distributed to students "sort of made us out to be a bunch of dummies." She said she was "mystified" by the charges. "I keep thinking maybe we're talking about completely different programs. I haven't seen anything like what they're talking about." Describing herself as "pro-Israeli," the teacher said that Scoville's course had concluded with a short video presentation about the forming of Israel which was "very fair, very balanced."

One of the TJCC's complaints was that maps handed out during the course did not include Israel. Said the teacher: "Of course the map didn't have Israel on it, because the map was of the Ottoman Empire and Israel was not part of the Ottoman Empire." A librarian who had been enrolled in the Middle East course commented: "If somebody can get to the district and get them to do this without even asking a question, that's what I find frightening."

With the exception of the article reflecting these comments, however, the press coverage of the controversy just two weeks before the panel of experts was to meet presented the Near Eastern Center in a damaging light. Moreover, the interviews with Carol Karsch made it clear that the TJCC had now totally gone back on its promise to abide by the decision of the blue ribbon panel. In a statement published in the *Arizona Star*, Karsch said of the committee of scholars: "We absolutely have not agreed to a committee, period."

Gimello was stunned by Karsch's statement. He told reporters: "I thought we had the agreement with the president of the council some months ago, and if they say there has been no agreement, that comes as something of a surprise to me." In fact, Karsch's statement contradicted assurances given earlier to President Koffler and documented in a letter Koffler wrote to Representative McNulty on April 18: "I persuaded both the department and the council to agree to the rulings of an outside panel of experts," said the letter.

By July 19, it was clear that the TJCC had managed to persuade

Koffler to redefine the panel's mandate. In a joint statement with TJCC President Sol Tobin, Koffler said that the panel was simply one "part of a thorough fact-finding process," and would not make a binding decision but would merely "advise the university concerning the work of the outreach program."

The four scholars finally met in closed-door sessions from July 29 to August 1. The panel members heard representatives of the TJCC present their charges and then, in a separate hearing, members of the Near Eastern Center defended the outreach program. The scholars drafted their report and transmitted it to President Koffler. They were not allowed to keep copies of it themselves, nor were any copies distributed.

Then came the bombshell: President Koffler refused to release the panel's report. Instead he appointed, with the approval of the Tucson Jewish Community Council, a University of Arizona law professor named Charles Ares to conduct the "second phase" of the university's investigation. The panel's report would not be released, said the president, until the second phase of the review was completed.

Scoville, Adamec and Gimello, prevented from seeing the panel's report which they expected would vindicate them, were now asked to cooperate in Ares's wide-ranging investigation of all the TJCC charges not covered by the panel. These included the funding, administration and supervision of the outreach program; allegations of bias and enrollment irregularities surrounding Sheila Scoville's Middle East survey course; and the question of whether the "Extended Response" of the Department of Oriental Studies had been fully endorsed by all department faculty.

According to Scoville, Ares asked her for copies of her correspondence as outreach coordinator and for copies of financial reports, including the accounts of the national Middle East Outreach Council of which she was treasurer. "He also probed into my personal life and moral character," she said, not wishing to elaborate. From Gimello, Ares attempted to discover which professors had written each section of the Oriental Studies Department's written defense. Gimello refused to give Ares the names. But the last straw for Gimello came when Ares began asking questions about the Middle East Studies Association, an international association of Middle East scholars which has been headquartered at the University of Arizona since 1981. Ares's probings into MESA's financing prompted Gimello to set down in a letter his strong reservations about the scope of Ares's investigation. Gimello wrote to Ares that he could not in good conscience respond to his questions about MESA and wished to explain his reasons, since "I suspect that, through no fault of your own, you do not fully appreciate what it is you are asking." The letter went on:

> Since the inception of this controversy my colleagues and I have been convinced that our critics' charges against the outreach program were a pretext, merely an opening move in an elaborate effort to control and/or stifle other aspects of our Department's and this University's work in Middle East Studies. Kozolchyk and company have repeatedly denied this, but, frankly, we have not believed them.
>
> Your questions today about MESA serve only to confirm our disbelief. . . . Questions regarding the presence of MESA at the University of Arizona, including questions about its finances, are entirely outside the legitimate scope of your investigation and even further afield of the proper interests of the TJCC. I really cannot participate in or abet any effort by our critics to expand their calumny beyond what even they themselves had said were its limits.

Gimello said that he considered the TJCC request for the inclusion of MESA in the investigation to constitute "an absolutely unjustifiable attempt both to interfere in university affairs and to abridge academic freedom."

After learning that an attempt had been made to investigate MESA, the organization's executive secretary, Michael Bonine, wrote a letter to President Koffler which contained even stronger language:

> I am very disturbed at the mere fact that Professor Ares has asked about MESA. . . . I can only surmise that Professor Ares is asking about MESA due to the urging and pressure of his colleague, Dr. Kozolchyk. Certainly, the TJCC would not mind damaging the reputation of MESA and its position at the University of Arizona. . . .
>
> The charges of the TJCC are irresponsible and its tactics reprehensible: secret tape recordings; vicious slander and innuendos against the director and outreach coordinator; leaks to the press when it serves its purpose; planting of "spies" in classes; . . . slander against the previous head of the Department of Oriental Studies; . . . and agreeing to an arbitration panel, but then . . . putting sufficient pressure on the administration to extend the scope of the inquiry. . . .
>
> What is most disturbing about the last point is the fact that the TJCC evidently has sufficient influence and power not only to dictate the agenda but to change the 'rules' as well.

Adamec cooperated with Ares at first, but balked when the investigation was extended to MESA and to Sheila Scoville's private life. He wrote to Ares, "It has now become nationally known that the TJCC demanded that Dr. Scoville be fired and the Near Eastern Center be closed because of its purported anti-Israel bias." He said that having failed to make the anti-Israel accusations stick, the TJCC was now resorting to a "fishing expedition":

> It seems not to have occurred to you or to the administration of this university that workshops, classes, conferences, seminars and similar academic endeavors are not subject to political scrutiny. . . . The blue ribbon panel has met, and we know we are vindicated. A continuation of this investigation is harassment and political persecution.

Meanwhile, the Tucson Unified School District had launched its own investigation of the University of Arizona outreach program. TUSD Compliance Officer Sylvia Campoy, who had been assigned the task, explained to the press: "We have to adhere to Title VI [of the Civil Rights Act]—that we will not allow bias or discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color." Not waiting for the release of the panel's report, the TUSD came out on September 13 with its own findings. Its 11-page report, backed up by appendices taken verbatim from the original TJCC attack, stated: "There appears to be a significant bias in the operation of the Near East Center Outreach Program of a decisively anti-Israel and pro-Arab character." The report charged Sheila Scoville with deliberately avoiding the Arab-Israeli conflict by ending her Middle East survey course with the year 1948: "The choice of dates and texts are [sic] indicative of the tendency of the outreach program's intent to exclude information about Israel as compared to the Arab countries."

The report claimed that

> In general, the outreach program appears to constitute unauthorized activities within the district which are of a highly political nature. . . . The danger posed to otherwise harmonious religious or racial relations among teachers, students, and even parents is serious and altogether unnecessary. . . . TUSD does not tolerate the presentation of biased materials promoting defamation of a culture, race, sex or religion in order to rectify the image of another culture, race, sex or religion.

While the panel's findings remained a closely-guarded secret, the TUSD report, like the TJCC report which inspired it, was widely quoted in the press. The *Arizona Daily Star*, ran the headline "Teaching Tools from UA Near Eastern Center 'Pro-Arab,' TUSD says." The article quoted the report's author, Sylvia Campoy, as saying that Scoville's Middle East survey course was "blatant pro-Arab, subtle anti-Israel," and that "the Israeli government apparently was not contacted for materials" (on the period 600 to 1948, before Israel existed). The *Daily Star* reporter did not contact the Oriental Studies Department for comment on the TUSD report, mentioning in the 700-word article only that "officials in the Oriental Studies Department have denied charges of bias and propaganda."

Adamec again wrote an angry letter, this time to the editor of the *Daily Star*. "I am astonished that you would print these charges without trying to get the 'other side' of the story," he wrote. He asked how a course which dealt with a period prior to the foundation of Israel could be "biased against Israel." He said the texts used in the course were not "oil company or Arab government sources, as implied in your article" and that there was nothing "improper" in reimbursing the teacher's tuition, a common practice at the university's College of Education. Adamec ended his letter with this:

> We realize that at present Middle Eastern studies is a controversial field, and that people with emotional attachment to one or another faction in Israel may try to influence our activities. As an educational institution we cannot allow this to happen.

These last lines were edited out of the printed version which appeared nine days later.

The *Tucson Citizen* wrote a more balanced article a few days later entitled "Charges of Bias in UA Class Called Groundless." The article quoted Gimello as saying he was "astounded" by the TUSD report, while former Oriental Studies Department head William Dever pointed out that Campoy was not qualified to evaluate the program for any sort of bias. Noting the similarities between the TUSD and TJCC reports, Dever said: "It is the same groundless charges repeated word for word with no hard evidence."

"No Systematic Pattern of Bias"

On September 23, after nearly two months of suspense, Koffler released the blue ribbon panel's report. The scholars completely vindicated the outreach program.

The report found "no systematic pattern of bias" in the outreach materials and "no overt policy bias" in their selection, presentation or distribution. On the contrary, "the selection of the material generally showed skill and good will on the part of the coordinator." The scholars said they were convinced that "the outreach activity at the University of Arizona does not attempt to advance the interests of any political group, state, or states. Nor do we see in the Outreach Library evidence of any effort to detract from any political group, state or states."

As for the use of some foreign government publications and corporation-sponsored material in the outreach program, the panel found that "these materials are appropriate for use with accompanying explanations" of their nature. In reference to the TJCC's claim that the program improperly attempted to rectify the image of Arabs, the panel found that "there is nothing intrinsically wrong with this approach or activity, nor does the panel find anything sinister in efforts to eliminate stereotyping." Charges that books used or statements made in the outreach program were "related to the effort . . . of certain Arab states to delegitimize Israel in the family of nations" were, in the panel's view, "completely groundless."

The panel refuted virtually every charge that the TJCC had made against the outreach program, conceding only that the materials used in the workshop "struck us as being generally superficial and uninspired." They added, "This was because the outreach library from which the selection was made is unfortunately quite limited." The panel, which had been asked to look into the supervision and structure of the outreach program, also said that "better supervision of the selection and presentation of the outreach materials would enhance the program. Responsibility for the program would better rest on a committee than on one individual." The panel's report contained specific recommendations as to how the outreach program might be restructured so as to become a more interdisciplinary program involving more of the faculty.

Having responded to the issues put before them, the four scholars then turned to the general matter of academic freedom. This section of the report, some five and a half pages long, was a diplomatically-worded denunciation of the tactics of the TJCC. It reads in part:

> The TJCC has exercised its right to question the university and the university has responded fully and adequately. The TJCC is entitled to disagree with the university position and to make that disagreement known. To insist, however, that the case can be closed only after the university takes action in line with the TJCC demands is to cross a clearly demarcated line. It is to go beyond the legitimate right to question and to be informed, moving into the illegitimate demand to control and to censor.
>
> The TJCC has now reached this line. Pressing its demands further can only be seen as an effort to erode university autonomy, as an attack on academic freedom.
>
> We accept that members of the TJCC do not wish to attack academic freedom, but in our judgment new challenges will be viewed by the public as harassment. And, alas, for all of us—university and community—the public image will be correct.

The panel report then defended outreach coordinator Sheila Scoville. In another implicit condemnation of the TJCC, the report said that Scoville had been allowed to become "the issue."

> This should not have been permitted to happen, and the damage cannot now be easily repaired. An individual possessing the requisite academic credentials and acting as an acknowledged member of the university community has had her integrity called into questions. Not her competence but her integrity. We trust all the parties concerned—even if they cannot agree on anything else—will accept that this unfortunate situation must be redressed. Academic freedom is meaningless unless it protects the individual whose ideas or whose chosen field of activity may be unpopular in certain quarters.

Ares's report, to the surprise of those who believed that Ares sided with the TJCC, supported the findings of the blue ribbon panel. It was released the same day as the panel report. First, in Sheila Scoville's Middle East survey course, Ares could find "no evidence that a specific point of view was advocated or that the instructor sought to shape the participants' lesson plans to fit such a point of view." Ares found nothing wrong with reimbursing teachers for the course and no evidence of discrimination in enrollment. Nor did Scoville, as the TJCC had charged, seek to "replace the curricular processes of a School District." Wrote Ares: "On all the evidence available there is no ground to believe that there were any irregularities in the way the course was arranged or taught."

Nor did Ares find any irregularities in the funding or sponsorship of the outreach program. While some of the center's funding came from oil corporations such as Mobil and Exxon, Ares found nothing untoward in these general purpose grants. As for the question of whether the extended response had been endorsed by all members of the Oriental Studies Department, this aspect of Ares's investigation had been thwarted by Gimello's refusal to release the names of the authors of individual sections of the response. Ares appears to have realized himself the impropriety involved. He wrote:

> There seems no room for doubt that the response has the full support of the Department Faculty. It has been urged that individual members of the faculty be interviewed, presumably to determine whether they agree with every statement of every book review in it. This seems unreasonable. These are mature scholars of natural independence. Without some evidence that the response is not approved at least by a substantial majority of the Department, an effort to cross question them now would be quite destructive.

Ares then turned his attention to tapes of Scoville'e classroom remarks that had been surreptitiously made by a TJCC "plant" who attended her 1982 teachers' workshop. The TJCC had made a partial transcript of the tapes which they claimed showed evidence of Scoville's bias. They were made available to Ares but not to the panel. Ares wrote:

> I discuss these [cassette tapes] for several reasons. (1) The partial transcript has been circulated but was not considered by the panel. (2) A partial transcript is necessarily selective and would not permit an impression of the overall tone of the proceedings. (3) The tapes were made without the prior consent or knowledge of the teacher of the workshop and this implicates academic freedom even in its most minimal dimension. . . . Despite grave misgivings about listening to tapes made under such circumstances, I ultimately concluded that the harm that would be done to the credibility of the fact-finding process by refusing to listen, would be greater than the increased harm to academic freedom, much of which had already been inflicted in any event.
>
> Therefore, I listened to the tapes and read the partial transcript after advising Dr. Scoville that she would also have the opportunity to do the same. She has not done so.

Ares then pronounced his finding: "Listening to the tapes and reading the partial transcript does not undermine the panel's finding that there was no discernible policy bias."

Despite the refutation of the TJCC's claims in two separate reports, President Koffler's cover letter summarizing their findings seemed calculated to present the TJCC defeat in the best possible light. In the section of his summary entitled "Findings," Koffler leads off as follows: "The Tucson Jewish Community Council was justified in its concern that the outreach program had not had appropriate supervision." In the next sentence, Koffler actually manages to subordinate the major and critical finding of the investigations to what was in effect a crumb thrown out to the TJCC: "Further, while the selection of the material has not been biased, the panel notes that the printed materials are generally superficial and uninspired." Koffler ended his cover letter with a muffled criticism of the TJCC's attack on Scoville:

> Considerable concern by the [Tucson Jewish Community] Council has been expressed about the integrity of the outreach coordinator. The professional reputation of individuals who work in sensitive areas is always subject to an increased risk of criticism. Hence it is incumbent on any critic to take extra care to ensure fairness in rendering judgments which could be both professionally and personally destructive. I therefore believe it is important that I draw special attention to the fact that the panel concluded that no overt policy bias is discernible in the selection and distribution of the materials by the Coordinator.

The panel's report and Ares's findings together represented a clear vindication of the Near Eastern center and its outreach program. Of all the many and various changes made by the TJCC, only one was sustained. The program would benefit from restructuring and greater supervision. In fact, the Department of Oriental Studies had already reached that conclusion in the spring of 1983 and was only awaiting the panel's recommendations before implementing its own reforms. Beyond these reforms, Koffler wrote, the university proposed to take no further action.

Interviewed on television after the release of the two reports, Gimello and Adamec expressed their belief that they had been vindicated and that the affair had now been resolved. Carol Karsch also claimed victory in her appearance before the cameras:

> Oh, the report far from vindicates the Near Eastern Center. As a matter of fact, if you read it carefully, it confirms our concern that it was not managed properly. . . . The presentation of the Middle East, including Israel, must be accurate; it must be fair; and it must be consistent with our American ideals. This has not been the case. It would remain to be seen how the university would prepare to deal with this.

Another spokesman for the TJCC, Mark Kobernic, was quoted on a radio news report as saying: "We certainly don't believe that there's been any sort of vindication of the program in that it should go on in its present form."

Carol Karsch also wrote a self-congratulatory "analysis" piece for the Jewish weekly *Arizona Post.* Asserting that "a grave issue has faced the Tucson Jewish community for the past two years, she argued that

> Our research and that of the Anti-Defamation League and American Jewish Committee evaluated the materials on Arab-Israeli conflict as biased, propagandistic and having a strong pro-Arab anti-Israel slant. The panel found that the materials were not scholarly and characterized them as "superficial and uninspired," "lacking in depth," and most importantly, often containing a "point of view."

This was apparently Karsch's interpretation of the panel's statement which said: "Although certain passages in the works reviewed might be seen as expressing particular points of view, we find no systematic pattern of bias in the works." Karsch continued:

> We must not let ourselves get bogged down in a battle of semantics. Whether to call pro-Arab materials 'biased' or to say that they demonstrate a "point of view," the effect remains the same.

Then came this startling claim: "The major thrust of Dr. Koffler's report was the admission of an overriding need for radical changes in the program." Karsch concluded by again raising the spectre of a national anti-Israel conspiracy:

> Our responsibility in Tucson is part of a national challenge to counter a powerful, well-financed effort to promote the Arab cause while attempting to under-

mine the legitimacy of Israel. The price of Jewish security has always been vigilance.

Obviously, the battle wasn't over, although by now it had gone on for two years.

"It Came as a Terrible Surprise"

Despite the findings of Ares and the blue ribbon panel, the administration of the Tucson Unified School District met on October 14, 1983, and officially adopted the recommendations contained in Sylvia Campoy's anti-outreach report. Interviewed by telephone after the meeting, Campoy said: "We have totally disassociated ourselves from the outreach program." She said that teachers would be denied salary increment credit not only for Scoville's Middle East survey course but also for any future course offered by the outreach program. No materials from the outreach program would be permitted in the classrooms.

At a TUSD school board meeting a few days later, both Robert Gimello and William Dever criticized Campoy's report, calling it "shoddy, hasty and one-sided." Gimello told the board: "I hope that district policies are not decided on because of uncritical submission to pressure-group tactics." The school board voted to reinstate salary increment credits to the teachers who had taken Sheila Scoville's Middle East survey course on the grounds that taking the credits away retroactively had been unfair. There was no discussion of future policy, however, or of the TUSD administrative decision to ban the outreach materials from classrooms. Merrill Grant, district superintendent, stood behind the decision and so did the school board.

Nor were the program's continuing headaches confined to the school district. At a faculty senate meeting, also in early October, President Koffler said that while no bias had been found in the outreach program, the panel did find cause for the TJCC allegation that the program had not been properly supervised. In particular, the panel found that the quality of the program had not benefitted from faculty participation. For this reason it had been decided to create a board of governors to oversee the center's operations. Koffler repeated the panel's finding that materials used in the outreach program were "superficial and uninspired" and said: "A report which points to defects in the quality of the work is scarcely a vindication of the center."

Adamec was enraged. In a letter to all members of the faculty senate, he said he found the accusation that the outreach program had not been properly supervised "insulting":

> I am an expert in Middle East studies with fifteen books to my name and thirty years of experience in the field. . . . Dr. Scoville's outreach activities have been praised by officials of the Department of Education as being a 'model program' and it is in good part due to the excellent evaluation of our outreach program that we have won funding for ten years in spite of keen national competition.
>
> Do we need to be supervised, directed, and governed by a board? As long as the board is a consultative body I welcome its creation, even though the Near Eastern Center is the only center at this University for which such 'guidance' is deemed necessary.

But it soon became clear that the board was to be more than "advisory." In a memo from the university's acting dean, it was specified that the board would give approval for funding requests and expenditures, select and review personnel in the center, "including the director," review the quality of the center's programs and, in particular, the quality of the outreach materials. It would review and even initiate future plans for the center and "oversee and be involved in all policy matters affecting the center."

The board of governors set up to supervise the center had only one faculty member from the Middle East area core. Meanwhile, the roster of "center faculty" was augmented, in order to increase faculty involvement, to include professors from the South Asia, Near Eastern archaeology, arid lands, anthropology and Judaic studies departments—and all were given equal voting power.

In Adamec's view, these measures deprived the Near Eastern Center of the autonomy it had previously enjoyed and were indicative of an attempt to nudge him out of his position. On December 5, 1983, Adamec sent to the university's acting dean his letter of resignation. Announcing that he would leave his position at the end of the fall 1984 semester, he wrote: "After almost three years of political attacks from which we were eventually vindicated, the most urgent task you have assigned to your board of governors is yet another review of center 'personnel,' namely the director and the outreach coordinator." After summing up the measures that had been taken, Adamec said,

> There is no need to further detail instances of what may or may not have been intentional harassment and discrimination against the center and its personnel. My work as center director was a labor of love for which I did not receive any compensation; those who want to see someone else in my position will not have long to wait.

Sheila Scoville stated that under the changed circumstances she would not work for a new director and so would resign as outreach coordinator when Adamec left. It was doubtful whether, with the departure of Adamec and Scoville, the Near Eastern Center would continue to obtain federal funds. Adamec himself predicted its ultimate demise: "I have a pretty good idea that a year from now there may not be any money for the center," he said.

And so, the Tucson Jewish community was to have its way. Not only had it effectively crippled the outreach program by getting its materials banned from the classrooms of Arizona's largest school district; it had, with the help of President Koffler, brought about the resignation of the two individuals it had targeted from the outset.

In an interview, William Dever said that when he heard about the TUSD decision,

> I realized we'd been had. [The TJCC] has endless time and devotion and resources and we don't. We're just a few individuals, acting on our own, taking time from our real work to fight this hopeless battle. . . . What bothers us is we know that is not an isolated case in this community. The local people have been forced into admitting this is part of a much larger national campaign and we know that other Near Eastern centers have been under pressure. They can say 'We did it in Tucson; we can do it to you, too.'

Robert Gimello commented: "This has been an education in disillusionment for me. I had been very suspicious of claims that there was interference by a pro-Isareli lobby in many areas of our public life. But having gone through the last two years, I'm now less suspicious. It came as a terrible surprise to me."

It was no surprise, however, when the Tucson Jewish community singled out for recognition several of the people prominent in the school district's decision. Six months after Sylvia Campoy issued the directive dissociating the school district from the program, she and two members of the board, Eva Bacal and Raul Grijalva, were honored by the Jewish Community Relations Committees. Bacal, like Superintendent Merrill Grant, is prominent in the Jewish community. At the dinner Campoy was recognized for "leadership in ensuring compliance and equal opportunity." Chairing the event was Carol Karsch, who the previous year had been cited as Tucson's Jewish "woman of the year" for her attack on the same program.

For Campoy the best was yet to come. A month later, the Jewish weekly announced that she would be the guest of the Jewish community in a week-long, expense-paid tour of Israel organized by Karsch with the support of the American Jewish Committee and the local Jewish Community Foundation.

It is interesting to note that Karsch and others in the Tucson Jewish community became "vigilant" only in 1981, six years after the Near East Center was founded. That was the same year in which the American Jewish Committee, whose assistance to the TJCC Karsch acknowledges, came out with its report entitled "Middle East Centers at Selected American Universities." Written by Gary Schiff, project director for the "Academy for Educational Development," the report asserts that funding by Arab governments or "pro-Arab corporations" exercises "at least a subliminal influence" on students and faculty in

Middle East centers "as well as on the nature, content, and outcome of the programs."

The Schiff report recommends that universities should exercise "close oversight" of outreach programs. For its part, the American Jewish Committee stated in a press release that it intended to follow up the Schiff report by "continuing to monitor the Middle East centers" around the country, by "collecting and evaluating outreach materials in cooperation with local community groups, teachers, professors, etc.," and by "meeting with university officials to discuss oversight mechanisms and review procedures in case problems arise." The Schiff report refers ominously to the "overall attempt to delegitimize the state [of Israel] . . . as prelude to its destruction."

Observers of events in Tucson saw the TJCC campaign as a test case in preparation for similar attacks on other Middle East centers in the United States. The Schiff report and the cooperation between the TJCC and such national organizations as the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith lend credence to this hypothesis. Other federally-funded Middle East area studies centers are at Harvard, Columbia, UCLA, Berkeley, Princeton and New York University (the latter two share a joint program), and at the Universities of Texas, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Utah and Washington.

The success of the Tucson attack soon served to encourage moves against another outreach program. During the summer of 1982, Charlotte Albright, Middle East outreach coordinator at the University of Washington in Seattle, was visited by Arthur Abramson of the American Jewish Committee. Abramson asked Albright for a report on the activities of the center over the preceding five years. When she refused, he said that similar reports had been requested from the Middle East Outreach Centers in Tucson and Los Angeles and reminded Albright that the Tucson center had been closed down (this was during the four months of the program's suspension). Abramson further claimed that Jonathan Friedlander, the coordinator of the center at UCLA, had provided him with a requested report. When Albright called Friedlander about this, however, he said that no such report had been either requested or provided. Confronted with this information, Abramson said he had Friedlander's report in his files and would show it to Albright. He never did so.

After attending a 1984 conference for outreach coordinators, Sheila Scoville, her own future clouded by the controversy that had swirled around her, was pessimistic: "The other coordinators think they can work with these pressure groups. My experience is you simply cannot. I fear that in the future outreach programs inevitably will take on a political bias and cease to serve educational purposes."

One striking aspect of the Tucson controversy was the absence of public opposition to the TJCC campaign within the Jewish community. The comments of one Jewish professor at the university throw some light on the reason for the general reluctance of Jews to speak out.

This professor told Richard Frye, one of the four scholars brought to Tucson to review the TJCC charges, that Karsch and Kozolchyk had the Jewish community "almost in a stranglehold" and "anyone who speaks against them is speaking against the national organization, the policy." The professor said the pressures on him were "terrible." "After all," he told Frye, "we get our funds, our grants, from various Jewish communities. . . . What I am telling you is branding me a quisling."

Another Jewish professor at the university, Jerrold Levy, was interviewed shortly after the school board meeting and asked about the lack of protest from the more liberal elements within Tucson's Jewish community. He said, "I think everybody's a little frightened." Levy had himself sent letters deploring the TJCC attacks to the editors of three newspapers, but none was printed. He explained his daring:

> I don't depend on Jewish funds for my academic work or for my livelihood. It's the people in the professional classes, doctors, lawyers, who feel intimidated. The friends I have within the [Reform] congregation are very, very close to the chest on political matters. I know a professional man who is very liberal, but now that he's got a well-established business, he's not coming out against the TJCC. There are some concerned people who are not saying anything. We're up against a very well-organized group of co-religionists here. There's some fairly good blackballing going on.

While Levy said that a lot of people privately disagreed with the TJCC, he also gave another reason for the lack of Jewish voices raised in protect: misinformation.

> I called two older members of the Jewish community whom I really respect and I said, 'What do we do?' And their answer was pretty generally: 'Where there's smoke there's fire. They [the TJCC] wouldn't have started this attack if there hadn't been something going on.' I asked them what they had read. Well, they'd only read the editorials in the [Jewish] *Arizona Post*. Nothing else. There's a lack of awareness, a lack of facts. The *Arizona Post* has published some pretty slanted things.

Levy said he had tried to reason with both Kozolchyk and Karsch. They responded by inviting him to an "educational series" they were holding on why Jews should support Israeli Prime Minister Begin.

> It was a series of evening lectures which were strictly brainwashing. And at the second one I got up during the discussion and told them the facts that they'd got wrong. They had manipulated maps and all kinds of funny things. And they disinvited me from the group. It's that simple. This is not a group that's open to discussion.

Levy describes the general atmosphere of Tucson in similar terms:

> It's an awful lot like the McCarthy period. And I include not only the Near Eastern Center [controversy] but the whole line taken on Israel. It's an awful lot like Germany in the thirties, too. It's a lot like what we Jews have been yelling about, that we want to be free from. And then who starts doing it again? It's a very scary business.

[Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

REAUTHORIZATION OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT

Title II (College Libraries); Title VI (International Education); Title VIII (Cooperative Education); Title X (F.I.P.S.E.); Title XI (Urban Grant Universities)

Volume 8

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1985

House of Representatives,
Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education,
Committee on Education and Labor,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 9:30 a.m., in room 2261, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. William D. Ford, chairman, presiding

Present from the subcommittee: Representatives Ford, Bruce Hayes, Atkins, Gunderson, McKernan, Petri, and Tauke.

Staff present: Thomas Wolanin, staff director; Kristin Gilbert, legislative associate and clerk; Maryln McAdam, legislative associate; and Rich DiEugenio, Republican legislative associate.

Mr. Ford. I am pleased to call to order this hearing of the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education. I thank Mr. Tauke for making that possible.

This is our 19th hearing here in Washington on specific facets of the Higher Education Act, and thus far we've had an additional 10 field hearings. We have now accumulated more than 90 hours of formal testimony in the combined hearings.

We have three more Washington hearings and two field hearings scheduled before we begin marking up the bill.

Today's hearing will include testimony on three titles of the Higher Education Act: Title VIII, Cooperative Education; title X, the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education; and title XI, the Urban Grant University Program. We will also hear testimony on the Minority Institutions Science Improvement Program which is authorized under the General Education Provisions Act.

Funding for titles VIII and X has been precarious over the last 4 years, resulting from the administration's recommendations that these programs be eliminated. Title XI, the Urban Grant University Program, was enacted in 1980 and has never been funded.

These programs are small, yet they provide a significant dimension to postsecondary education in our country. The Cooperative Education Program provides students with work experience, either concurrent or alternating with periods of academic study, in areas similar to the student's academic and career objectives.

The Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education has a solid reputation for the innovative programs it has funded over the years to help improve the quality of and access to postsecondary education. The Urban Grant University Program, if funded, would establish links between educational institutions and their urban communities to help solve some of the problems that are unique to our urban areas. The Minority Institutions Science and Improvement Program is designed to give greater access to science and engineering careers to minority students through government support.

Senator Grassley is on his way. So I suppose we will hold up for him at this point. I thought that we had him.

All right. Let's go ahead with the first panel. Dr. John Curry is senior executive vice president, Northeastern University; Dr. John Porter, president of Eastern Michigan University.

Dr. Curry, we are so pleased to have you.

Mr. CURRY. Thank you, sir. My pleasure.

Mr. FORD. Without objection, Dr. Curry's prepared testimony will be inserted in full in the record.

You may proceed, Doctor, to supplement them, add to them, editorialize them, highlight them, in any way that you feel will be most illuminating for the record. We're very pleased to hear from you this morning.

STATEMENT OF JOHN A. CURRY, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY

Mr. CURRY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It's my pleasure being here before the committee to talk a little bit about cooperative education.

The president of Northeastern University, Dr. Ryder, is in Scotland representing Northeastern University at the International Cooperative Education Conference, or he would have been here himself to make the remarks that I plan to make to you.

We're pleased to see that in the past the committee and Congress has seen the value of cooperative education, what it's doing for America and the Americans. We urge your continued support in the authorization act for title VIII. At present across the land, there are 200,000 students at 900 colleges and universities that are active in cooperative education programs, those people alternating, of course, work experience, learning about the academic discipline that they're studying in the classroom, while they also undertake that academic study.

From personal experience I can tell you, as a freshman at Northeastern in 1951, my mother and father both having passed away, having grown up in the shoe city of Lynn, MA, I wouldn't have had a college education if it weren't for the fact that Northeastern offered that cooperative education model.

Not only did I have a chance to earn my way through college, but I also had the opportunity to work in two situations. I didn't know whether I wanted to be a journalist or a teacher, and by working for the Boston Globe on co-op and by working for the city of Newton as an elementary school teacher assistant, it helped me to see that education was my profession to be; and I was offered a job by the city of Newton after graduating from Northeastern University.

Today with 200,000 students again involved in those 900 colleges and universities, they're getting the same chance I had to see what kind of work experience they wanted to take after going through their education at Northeastern, certainly making the education more meaningful for all participants in cooperative education programs.

For the employer, the city of Newton, the Boston Globe, companies like G.E. and Burroughs, many of those people will have 70 percent of the students who are active in cooperative education continue to work for that firm upon their graduation from college, a wonderful opportunity for the employer to check out a college student while he's still a student to see whether he has the promise, the talent, to be offered a full time job by that employer upon graduation from school.

Today at our college, Northeastern University, 10,000 students are going through that co-op ed program. Last year they made $65 million in 1 year, the average student making $6,500 to defer substantial parts of his tuition, fees, dormitory expenses at the university.

The average student paid $650 in taxes. Certainly, when you think of the investment through the appropriations and you also look at the billions of dollars in taxes that were paid by students in co-op programs, I hope you would see, and I know you do, that it's surely one of the most cost effective programs that the Federal Government assists with in America today.

When you look at those students at Northeastern who are earning their way through college, and you look at the problem you face as Members of Congress with that substantial Federal deficit, I hope you also take a look for a moment at the fact that we don't want those students all over America to be involved in individual deficits of some magnitude after they graduate from college. Surely loan programs, scholarship programs are very, very, very important; but cooperative education as a set mechanism can help the student reduce that loan indebtedness. To me, it's surely ironic that the current administration is asking people to help themselves in more ways. Here's a program, cooperative education, where those students are willing to help themselves, willing to pay taxes, willing to get an education, a system of self-reliance that should be advocated and expanded across the country today.

I compliment the leadership of the Chair, members of the committee for what you've done for title VIII in the past. In a very short period of time, from 1970 to 1985, we've had wonderful growth, a 500-percent increase in participation of colleges across the land. The focus has been in the past on the sponsorship of new programs, the expansion of small programs, and I hope that that kind of emphasis will continue in the time ahead.

I think most of us would agree that only a few colleges have moved toward real systematic wide implementation, comprehensive cooperative education programs. There are too few colleges and universities in America today that have gone right through the system and made cooperative education the total element tied directly to the academics at a college and university.

The goal of the associations that I represent here today is to encourage you to encourage movement to more comprehensive cooperative education programs, and see if we can effect an economy of scale by having that college program widespread throughout the entire college, throughout the entire university, and not continue the proliferation of smaller programs that certainly have had their say and certainly should be continued; but I think we need to move more in a direction of comprehensive total programming across the university that is co-op related.

Therefore, we badly need the assistance of the Federal Government in the time ahead. The major recommendations that are central to us today, I'd like to briefly mention to you today. They are four.

One: We urge that with section 802 grants that 20 percent of the appropriations be earmarked for a major new commitment to comprehensive cooperative education programs, that a series of comprehensive, competitive grants be there to really encourage more students, more colleges, more universities to build a truly comprehensive cooperative education program within that college and university.

Second, with section 803 grants, for training, for demonstration, for research, we ask that the appropriations not exceed 20 percent of the total. In the past, a lot of the money for those training, demonstration and research grants, maybe 35, 40 percent of the appropriation has gone for those particular things; but I think that hurts the truly comprehensive programmatic development that I spoke to in recommendation No. 1.

Third, within the budget constraints that we know you face as Members of Congress, looking at that strong Federal deficit, we urge you to at least consider adjusting the authorization in grant amounts for inflation, the amounts that you currently have in the program.

Finally, fourth, we hope that you would permit reapplication by a college after it has maintained—after a 3-year maintenance at a budget level equal to the fifth year total cost of the program at the time the Federal Government bowed out, after the initial 5-year grant.

Again, that ties to our thinking that, if somebody has truly picked up on cooperative education programming and have waited that 3-year period, we would hope at that point that you would permit reapplication. Obviously, that can be a great help with colleges and universities that face severe budgets at this time.

On behalf of the organizations that I represent, I want to thank you and compliment you for your support of this legislation in the past, and hope that you will feel secure to continue that support and along the lines that I've advocated in the future.

Thank you for having me.

[The prepared statement of John A. Curry follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN A. CURRY, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY, ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, THE ASSOCIATION OF URBAN UNIVERSITIES, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND GRANT COLLEGES, THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF STATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY BUSINESS OFFICERS AND THE MIDWEST UNIVERSITY ALLIANCE

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Subcommittee: There is broad consensus in the higher eduction community on the value of the cooperative education program authorized under Title VIII of the Higher Education Act. For the better part of this century, a growing cadre of students has been paying for college in large measure by working. In fact, more than 200,000 undergraduate and graduate students at some 900 higher education institutions now participate in cooperative education programs, alternating periods of traditional college studies with periods of work in paid, professional public and private sector jobs related to their academic fields. While earning most of their college tuitions, students are gaining valuable experience in on-the-job training, a critical understanding of the world of work, and an ability to cope with that world. And what is perhaps most important, they can measure the validity of what they learn in the classroom against the actualities of the real world.

At the same time, co-op students make excellent employees. Companies recruit these students to meet their workforce needs. Every year large corporations like General Electric and Burroughs count on 70% of their co-op students continuing as permanent, full-time employees. Employers of co-op students realize substantial savings in recruitment and training costs, are better able to evaluate future employees in actual performance situations, and have better access to women and minority employees.

This year about 10,000 co-op students at Northeastern University will collectively earn over $65 million, the average student earning approximately $6500 a year in co-op employment, enough to pay the entire annual tuition bill. None of this is borrowed and none of it comes from the federal Treasury. In fact, these students pay an average of around $650 a year in federal and state taxes on their co-op earnings.

It is ironic that, while members of Congress are seriously attempting to change past attitudes toward governmental deficit spending and to put the United States on a pay as you go basis in future year, individual deficit spending by students is reaching unprecedented levels. Students should not be required to mortgage their futures in order to buy a college degree. They should not be forced to take on substantial indebtedness to pay for their college education even before they have begun their working lives. Cooperative education provides a funding mechanism for students to reduce their need for such large debt. To the degree students finance their educations through co-op jobs, they are freed from the onerous indebtedness that loan plans of any sort entail and from the dependency on government subsidy that grant programs often demand. At the same time, cooperative education embodies the values of self-reliance, individual initiative, and hard work.

Over the years Title VIII has encouraged a growing number of institutions to establish cooperative programs. In the period from 1970 to 1985, the number of institutions conducting co-op programs has increased 500%. As you know, the focus of current law has been to sponsor fledgling programs in order to make the cooperative model available to as wide a population of students as possible in a large number of settings. Title VIII has been and continues to be highly successful in establishing viable new cooperative programs, with a large number and wide variety of (for the most part) small, "highly tooled" programs, often limited to "honors" students. The programs are grafted to traditional programs, entailing close faculty involvement and oversight of the work experience. Faculty members find themselves serving as job counsellors, placement officers, and program planners. Still, these embryonic programs have significant value to students and ought to be continued.

But, however valuable and successful the smaller programs have been and continue to be, few institutions have converted to institution-wide implementation of the cooperative model. If the proven value of co-op is to be firmly established and made available to a large segment of the college population and to reach out to many of those who do not now have the opportunity for a college education, the federal government is going to have to encourage movement to more comprehensive cooperative programs, with all the economies of scale they provide.

Larger cooperative education programs are better equipped to implement sophisticated job placement and job counselling procedures, to develop a large and varied network of businesses where students can be placed in jobs, and to develop faculty support of and expertise in the cooperative mode.

Conversion to comprehensive programs is expensive. In an era of declining student population, colleges and universities are under severe budget constraints that make so massive a project unlikely without some sort of federal incentive and support. Therefore, we are recommending that 20% of Section 802 grants be earmarked for those institutions willing to make a major new commitment to comprehensive cooperative education. These competitive, discretionary grants will be awarded to those institutions which demonstrate a commitment to applying the techniques of cooperative education to the widest spectrum of institutional programs and which open their co-op programs to all students who can benefit from opportunities to relate their academic program to their prospective occupations.

The remining recommendations drafted by the American Council on Education's Task Force, which appear at Page 72 of Part 3 of the Committee Print, represent relatively minor adjustments in the existing law. They include:

Requiring that section 803 grants for training, demonstration, and research not exceed 20% of the total appropriation for Title VIII. In recent years, the Department of Education has allocated between 35 and 40 percent of funds to section 803, thus restricting monies available to institutions for programmatic development.

Adjusting authorization and maximum grant amounts to reflect inflation, within the constraints of the federal budget process.

Permitting an institution to reapply for a Section 802 grant after it has maintained its program for three years at a budget level at least equal to the program's total cost in the fifth year of its initial award. This will permit institutions which are truly committed to cooperative programs but which lack additional resources to maintain the programs at expanded levels.

These recommendations, if implemented, will start us on the road to encouraging institutions around the nation to realize the full benefits that cooperative education has to offer students. I think our recommendations underscore the need for the federal government not only to assist colleges and universities in adopting cooperative programs but also to provide incentives and encouragement to already well-established cooperative programs.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will be happy to try to answer any questions you or other members of the subcommittee may have.

Mr. FORD. Thank you, Dr. Curry. I hope you will convey my deepest sympathy to Ken having to be in a beautiful spot.

Mr. CURRY. Such assignments.

Mr. FORD. At the time of the year when he sends you down to Washington, to use a crude Midwestern term, sweat it out while he's on a hardship assignment there.

I'd like to ask you just one question. I have been fascinated for years with the success of the Co-op Program at Northeastern, and also with the long tradition you've had. I've tried to figure out why it's been possible for an institution like Northeastern that looks so much in every other respect like so many other institutions I'm familiar with around the country; yet you've had this long tradition of successful use of the Co-op Program. It's very well accepted. You've had literally generations of people now who have participated.

In other parts of the country with similar characteristics, industrial bases to work with, large companies that would be, it would seem, attractive to the employer, the program doesn't catch on.

What's the element that seems to be missing?

Mr. CURRY. Oh, I think, Mr. Chairman, there are probably three or four. One is, I'm sure——

Mr. FORD. Laying aside the fact that you people in Massachusetts think that you are smarter and better than anywhere else in the country. But why has it worked so well there for so long, and it has so much trouble getting off the ground in other urban areas?

Mr. CURRY. I think it gets back to the recommendations that we're making to you today, that across America there still is that great emphasis on the classical education, the traditionalist education.

I'm sure there are still people who think of cooperative education as vocational education. I'm also sure that the cooperative education associations and the colleges and universities themselves have not marketed what we've been advocated as well as we might. We're pleased to see this fall the Advertising Council of America is taking on cooperative education, as they did Smoky the Bear in 1943, "A Mind is a Terrible Thing to Waste." So we're hoping, with better marketing, there may be more pickup.

I think the traditional academic, Mr. Chairman, hesitates to take on cooperative education in totality. So people pay lip service. People take up small segments of the program, and the recommendations we made to you today are really saying, let's put some of that money aside and say, look, if you're really serious about this, let's see you, through a system of competitive grants, apply to make this whole program widespread across your entire campus.

That, to me, will come in the time immediately ahead if we get continued Federal support.

Mr. FORD. Well, I see in my own State that cooperative education is working rather well at the high school level. You may be putting your finger on a difference in the attitude, the modern, fairly recent attitudes now, of people with the objective of a high school education being changed from simply getting a certificate, to having job related skills and some knowledge of the real world of work.

Mr. CURRY. It's still a young movement. I think it takes time to get accepted across the country.

Mr. FORD. Maybe the difference is, we still are afflicted with academic inertia.

Mr. CURRY. That's part of it. I think it is. Also, the tradition of the classical university that we inherited from Germany, England. I think it's still a youthful movement, and it takes time, but what better time than the 1980's when students are being asked to help themselves for cooperative education to be a main program.

Mr. FORD. What better group to work with. I've been interested for years in watching the survey that's done of entering freshmen.

Mr. CURRY. Yes.

Mr. FORD. One question, in particular: Why do you want to go to college? The dramatic difference from the sixties when the overwhelming majority said, to be able to contribute to a better world, to an overhwhelming majority now that says, to find an occupation that will pay me well.

I'm told by academics all over the country that they recognize that the present college population is the most committed to their own career objectives in a very specific way that they've seen in recent times. And that includes the comparison with our group that went through at the end of World War II with everybody in a hurry to get back in the job market.

It seems like this would be a golden opportunity for us to take advantage of that. The students would be attracted to schools who gave them that kind of an opportunity.

Mr. CURRY. I agree.

Mr. FORD. Thank you very much. Mr. Tauke.

Mr. TAUKE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I really appreciate your testimony this morning. I'm wondering if you could tell us if there are other institutions that have adopted the cooperative program to the extent Northeastern has.

Mr. CURRY. Yes, there are quite a number of them. I think schools like Antioch, Drexel would be two examples; but again, I think too few in relation to the time that we live in.

Mr. TAUKE. Following a little bit along the line of the chairman's question, what is restraining other institutions or students from participating? Is it lack of funding that is a problem, or would more money do little to encourage them to participate?

Mr. CURRY. Well, again looking at the deficit that you face, that we face as Americans, I think it's illogical of me to sit here and say we need a lot more money. I think that doesn't make a lot of sense. I guess I would say that, in the beginnings of the legislation and to this point, there's been a focus on helping a lot of small programs get started; and that's been all to the good, and it should be partially continued. But if we can devote some of the appropriations to the encouragement of more comprehensive programs across colleges, if we say we will help you to a large extent if you're willing to take the whole university, the whole college, and adopt the cooperative education plan to it, I have a feeling that that will generate some movement.

Mr. TAUKE. For what are institutions using the money now? If the money is given to an institution, what do they use it for?

Mr. CURRY. Well, for the administrative grants, they're using it, obviously, for the programmatic development of the staff, the hiring of counselors, et cetera, to help the students find jobs. At Northeastern, for instance, we have a full time staff of 70 people.

Mr. TAUKE. Seventy?

Mr. CURRY. Seventy people, whose job it is strictly to see a segment of our 10,000 students, just like a guidance counselor, a work counselor, help the student ferret out his objectives, head him off in a direction to be interviewed by companies, follow up at the company to see if there's satisfaction with the student's performance.

So there's a tremendous amount of overhead. At Northeastern, we're spending a couple of million dollars a year on our cooperative education program.

Mr. TAUKE. And that money that you spend on the cooperative education program is generally figured into your tuition costs then?

Mr. CURRY. Yes, it is.

Mr. TAUKE. Does the institution send the student out on his or her own, in a sense, to apply for positions, or do you work out arrangements with companies before you send the student out?

Mr. CURRY. Well, at Northeastern we have about 2,700 companies, both nationally and internationally, that hire our students. Our job coordinators, our cooperative education coordinators—their first assignment is to go out and get the jobs.

Right now there is a waiting list in Boston for employers who wish to hire Northeastern University students. We have 96 percent employment of all of the full times, and Northeastern is the largest private university in the country, remember.

The job development is done by the coordinator. Then he's back in his office a certain number of days per week, usually with the assistance of an assistant called a counselor. The students come into the co-op office, are interviewed. In my case, I thought I wanted to be a newspaper reporter. I told—because I was a liberal arts student,—my coordinator my objective. He arranged for me to get onto the Globe.

I went down to the Globe, was interviewed. They then report back to Northeastern. Do we want to hire this kid, or do we want to hire one of the three or four others you may have sent down there?

Normally, the co-op coordinator will send three or four people down to be interviewed for one job.

Mr. TAUKE. Did I understand you correctly, that 96 percent of the students have jobs?

Mr. CURRY. Yes, that's correct. At Northeastern.

Mr. TAUKE. That's amazing. What happened to the other 4 percent?

Mr. CURRY. Well, at our particular college, there's a college of liberal arts which does not require a mandatory co-op program. Unlike a 4 year school like B.C. or B.U., we're a 5 year school, full time freshman year, then the second, third, fourth and fifth years, sophomore, middler, junior, senior, I alternate every 13 weeks between work and study.

Usually, the people who are unemployed are liberal arts students who have a choice. They're the only college at Northeastern that is allowed to go 4 years regular instead of 5 years co-op.

Second, there are people who develop emotional problems, people who have personal crises who are unable to work. Those two combination factors result in a 4 percent unemployment situation for us.

Mr. TAUKE. How do your expenditures of other student assistance moneys compare with other private institutions?

Mr. CURRY. I think Northeastern students being in the main—oh, I would guess that about a third of our students have an average family income greater than $30,000. We have a great number of students whose average family income is in the $20,000 area. Therefore, they do apply for regular financial aid through grants, loans and scholarships, and get a significant amount of the college work/study money that's given out across America.

I would say the clientele we have is a student who's willing to work his way through college and, therefore, comes from a socioeconomic situation that does require additional funding beyond his co-op wages.

Mr. TAUKE. Let me ask the question another way. Does the involvement of the students in cooperative education lessen the demand for other financial programs or does the Federal Government, in a sense, save money in the student aid programs by putting money into the cooperative program?

Mr. CURRY. At our school, obviously, the Federal Government is saving a great deal of money, because when a student applies at Northeastern for a financial aid, his co-op wages are taken into account. Again, the average student makes $6,500. He can virtually pay for his tuition. He can't run a car. He can't live in the dorm. He can't have the extra things, but he can pay for substantial hunks of his tuition, almost all of it.

Mr. **Tauke**. Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Ford**. Thank you. Mr. Hayes.

Mr. **Hayes**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I noticed, Dr. Curry represents a very broad list of organizations interested in the higher education cooperative educational program. I would hope that a special effort is made to see to it that the disadvantaged and minorities who are having a tough time now trying to get an education, and certainly H.R. 1338 will be of some assistance in helping them to at least find employment to help defray the expenses of their higher education.

I would hope that you agree that some special program, some special effort, should be made on behalf of the universities and organizations which you represent to see to it that moneys—some $300 million, I think, are embodied in this bill—are used in the direction of trying to expedite their opportunities to get an education—a job in order to help pay for their education.

I'd like your comment on that.

Mr. **Curry**. I would like to think, sir, that Northeastern again will bring into any freshman class about 350—in our freshman class—minorities. About almost 10 percent of any entering class is minority. Why? Because students from Camden, Philadelphia, Washington, DC are major recruiting markets, Lynn, Brockton, all over New England.

I think they see that not only is there an opportunity to make money and pay and defer tuition, but a chance for a minority individual to get a job at the Globe or at Burroughs or at G.E., and what a wonderful opportunity for the employer to see that cooperative education kid in action as a sophomore in college, see what kind of employee he might make for the future.

I would say that by far Northeastern is the most popular school in the New England area for minorities because of cooperative education, sir.

Mr. **Hayes**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Ford**. Thank you very much.

Mr. **Curry**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Ford**. It's always a pleasure to see you folks from up there. I had the opportunity to attend the commencement this spring, and I was fascinated. I tell people all over the country of you giving 4,000 degrees in about 1 hour and 15 minutes, and every single graduating student personally received his or her degree; not just a blank piece of paper, handed out by the dean of the school that each graduated from, with a picture taken for the family. Four thousand of them in 1 hour and 15 minutes.

Mr. **Tauke**. How did they do that?

Mr. **Ford**. They have four lines of them coming up there. It's the most fascinating thing you've ever seen.

Mr. **Curry**. It's an exciting thing. I'm awfully glad to hear the chairman's approval of such a system. Four thousand degrees. They come across the stage. They meet the dean, get their picture taken with the dean, and, I guess, Mr. Chairman, it happens, 4,000 degrees all within a span of about 45 minutes or less. I'd say a ½ hour, thereabout.

It's pretty well organized, and they do get the right degree.

Thank you, sir.

Mr. FORD. Thank you very much.

Senator Grassley.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Thank you.

Mr. FORD. Charlie, it's indeed a pleasure to have you appear before our committee, and I know that the gentleman from Iowa would like to extend his hearty welcome. I want you to know that we are very grateful that he has come back for the purpose of working with us on reauthorization.

He was a veteran of the reauthorization of 1979 and 1980; got away from the committee for a little while doing something else with his congressional career. We're happy to see him on the straight and narrow again and back where he can do the most good.

Mr. TAUKE. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. I still have all those other obligations which makes my attendance here sometimes not as steady as it should be, but it is a great pleasure to introduce to the committee the senior Senator from Iowa and my good friend, Senator Chuck Grassley.

A couple of people who were sitting around here since Senator Grassley has been here commented that he is the master politician in the country right now. I don't know if I would say that, but whatever he's doing he's doing it well. So it's good to have you here, Senator.

Mr. FORD. I would like to tell you that I've been an observer of Charlie Grassley for a long time in the House and in the Senate. What he's doing seems fairly obvious to me, and I would commend it to my Republican colleagues here.

STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES E. GRASSLEY

Mr. GRASSLEY. Somewhere between what Congressman Tauke says about being a master politician and between your statement about somehow I'm redeemed because I come back to this side of the Hill, there's got to fit in some basis for my statement today; and I hope I haven't—every person who leaves the House and goes to the Senate isn't somehow considered going from good to bad as a result of moving to the Senate.

I want to say that this subcommittee has been under your leadership for a long time, Congressman Ford, and most higher education legislation has your imprint on it, and we're grateful for your leadership. Because of your leadership, I come to you with some variations of ideas on cooperative education that are combined in a bill that I introduced that I'd like to speak to you about now at this time.

I think that we all know the advantages of cooperative education. I don't need to go into a great deal of detail about that, but through that students gain valuable work experience in jobs that are directly related to their fields of study. More important, they have an opportunity to earn income and at the same time generate a lot of tax dollars back to the Federal Treasury. So it's a mutually beneficial program.

Cooperative education programs have clearly demonstrated to be valuable as a viable academic program, as well as a cost effective means of student financial assistance. The previous witness made that very clear.

So this is all beneficial, not just to the student but to the educational institutions, also to the employers and, of course, as we would all feel strongly about, society as a whole demonstrates—or benefits from this.

For the student, it seems to me, the opportunity not only to have vocational training that goes with a job, he also has an opportunity to have state-of-the-art equipment which is not always available to these students on the campus; and by working off campus, co-op students are able to explore career alternatives and also to explore potential employers.

For the colleges there's a tremendous benefit as well. There's a valuable link for that institution with local business, industries and also with Government agencies. This close association helps colleges maintain a relevant and current curricula, and that's very important for our economy that advances so fast, and it's difficult for institutions to keep up with.

It also provides for professional development opportunities for faculty members because of the exchange that they have with the business world. And employers benefit as well, because they have a cost effective recruitment tool.

For society, it seems to me that the promotion of the American work ethic and helping to build respect among young people for work, and, of course. the opportunity for them to earn money as a fruit of that, is also beneficial to society as it applies to that individual. But also for society in the economy as a whole, a steady flow of qualified, appropriately skilled workers is very important.

The success of this unique Federal program which combines an academic component with a financial aid component for students can clearly be measured.

In 1983 you know that 177,000 college co-op students earned in excess of $1 billion in wages in 1983, and they paid $133 million of that to the Federal Treasury for Federal income and Social Security taxes.

When you compare that to the $14.4 million Federal appropriation for co-op programs in 1983 against that $133 million return to the Federal Treasury, you get more than a 900-percent return on that Federal investment. Few other Federal programs can boast of such cost effectiveness

So, Mr. Chairman, I believe that the Federal authorization for the Cooperative Education Program should be continued. The uniqueness of the program demands that it be maintained as a separate program in a separate title of the Higher Education Act, rather than combined with other financial aid programs, as recommended earlier by the present administration and President Reagan.

Therefore, on June 20 I introduced S. 1338 to extend the authorization for cooperative education programs through 1990. This bill retains the four basic types of grants authorized under current law, the administrative, demonstration, training and research types of grants. But unlike current law, my bill combines the four grants under one authorization. S. 1338 includes reservations specifying that at least 75 percent of the appropriate funds will go to institutions for administrative grants. The bill limits demonstration projects to no more than 13 percent of the appropriation, training grants to no more than 10 percent, and research grants to no more than 2 percent of the appropriation.

These reservations should ensure that all four types of grants have an opportunity to be funded in a given year, but that the majority of appropriated funds be directed to grants going to educational institutions to assist them with the implementation of the cooperative education program.

Now S. 1338 also expands training grants to include a provision to create regional resource centers. These centers would furnish training material and technical assistance to institutions to help them begin or maintain cooperative education programs.

Current law limits an institution to 5 years of program funding, beginning with a 100 percent Federal grant the first year, and declining to 30 percent in the fifth year. My bill has a provision to allow an institution which has exhausted its 5 years of funding to reapply for grant money; but in order to qualify for additional funds, an institution must have maintained the program for 2 years beyond its initial Federal grant period at a level equal to the total cost of the program in its fifth year of Federal funding. This provision is very important, because it encourages the continuance and expansion of successful programs.

Provisions to increase institutional accountability and commitment to co-op programs have been added to my bill as well. While current law allows a 100-percent first year Federal share of program costs, my bill requires institutions to make at least a 10-percent upfront commitment the first year.

S. 1338 also requires institutions to analyze their programs' effectiveness when they apply for second and subsequent years of grant funding. It requires them to provide statistical data on the grant applications regarding the number of students, employees and other personnel involved in the program, and student's income and a lot of other things are included.

By requiring the institution to submit this data, my bill will encourage institutions to yearly assess direction, scope and effectiveness of their program. It will also force an institution to better plan how it will take over the financial responsibilities of the program after the termination of Federal support, thereby lowering the institutional dropout rate that has plagued the program in earlier years.

I hope that you'll take a close look at this accountability portion of my bill, because I think it goes a long ways toward what is a very good program and where we figure that there's an initial Federal incentive for the creation of a program to get it off the ground, that that program then will be continued for a long period of time beyond that time of just the Federal commitment.

I want to conclude by stating that during the period of research prior to my introduction of this bill on June 20, my staff and I endeavored to gain a broad spectrum of input on community education program needs from the higher education community.

We talked with the Cooperative Education Association, the National Commission for Cooperative Education, and a variety of 2- and 4-year colleges and universities. My bill reflects this broad input. S. 1338 is endorsed by the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, the Association of Community College Trustees, the American College of Education, and the Cooperative Education Association.

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you again for allowing me this opportunity to share my views with my distinguished colleagues this morning from this side of the Hill.

[The prepared statement of Senator Charles E. Grassley and S. 1338 follow:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF IOWA

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to appear before this distinguished committee to present some of my views on the reauthorization of title VIII of the Higher Education Act.

As most of you know, cooperative education is an educational strategy in which college students combine periods of classroom study with periods of off-campus paid employment. Through cooperative programs, students gain valuable work experience in jobs that are directly related to their field of study. At the same time, they earn income that helps off-set the cost of attending college, while generating tax dollars back into the Federal Treasury.

The cooperative education program has clearly demonstrated its value as a viable academic program, as well as a cost-effective means of student financial assistance. It has proven to be beneficial not only to students, but to educational institutions, employers and society, alike.

Through hands-on experience, students have an opportunity to apply classroom learning to actual work situations. Frequently, they have the opportunity to work with resources and state-of-the-art equipment which is not available to them on campus. By working off-campus, coop students are able to explore career alternatives, and potential employers.

Colleges maintaining coop programs enjoy a valuable link with local businesses, industry, and Government agencies. This close association helps colleges maintain relevant and current curricula. Additionally, because academic credit is awarded to coop students for their work experience, colleges require faculty collaboration with work supervisors to monitor student progress. This required communication facilitates professional development opportunities for faculty members.

Employers find that participating in cooperative education programs provides them with a cost-effective recruitment tool. They have an opportunity to preview potential employees before they are hired permanently, and to train them while they are still in the formative stages. Employers are also able to influence the content of the college curricula, through the coop program's requirement for communication between the student's work supervisor and college advisor.

Cooperative education programs also benefit society in general. Participating in the program reinforces the American work ethic. It builds in young people a respect for work and for the value of money earned through work. Cooperative education programs also contribute to our Nation's economic development by producing a steady flow of qualified, appropriately skilled workers.

The success of this unique Federal program, which combines an academic component with a financial aid component for students, can be clearly measured. Note the 1983 statistics: 177,000 college coop students earned in excess of $1 billion dollars in wages in 1983. They paid $133 million to the Federal Treasury in Federal income and social security taxes. When you compare the $14.4 million Federal appropriation for coop programs in 1983, against the $133 million returned to the Federal Treasury in taxes by these coop students, you get more than a 900% return on the Federal investment. Few other Federal programs can boast of such cost-effectiveness!

Mr. Chairman, I believe that the Federal authorization for the cooperative education program should be continued. The uniqueness of the program demands that it be maintained as a separate program in a separate title of the Higher Education Act, rather than combined with other financial aid programs as recommended earlier by the administration.

Therefore, on June 20th, I introduced S. 1338 to extend the authorization for the cooperative education program through 1990. My bill retains the four basic types of grants authorized under current law—administrative, demonstration, training, and research. But, unlike current law, my bill combines the four grant areas under one authorization. S. 1338 includes reservations specifying that at least 75 percent of the appropriated funds will go to institutions for administrative grants. My bill limits demonstration projects to no more than 13 percent of the appropriation, training grants to no more than 10 percent, and research grants to no more than 2 percent of the appropriations. These reservations should ensure that all four types of grants have an opportunity to be funded in a given year, but that the majority of appropriated funds will be directed to grants going to educational institutions to assist them with the implementation of cooperative education programs.

S. 1338 expands training grants to include a provision to create regional resource centers. These centers would furnish training materials and technical assistance to institutions to help them begin or maintain cooperative education programs. They would be authorized to identify model programs which furnish education and training in occupations where there is a national need, and encourage the development of other such programs.

Current law limits an institution to five years of program funding, beginning with a 100 percent Federal grant the first year, and declining to 30 percent in the fifth year. My bill has a provision to allow an institution which has exhausted its five years of funding, to reapply for grant money. But to qualify for additional funds, an institution must have maintained the program for two years beyond its initial Federal grant period, at a level equal to the total cost of the program in its fifth year of Federal funding. This provision encourages the continuance and expansion of successful programs.

Provisions to increase institutional accountability and commitment to coop programs have been added in my bill. While current law allows a 100 percent, first year Federal share of program costs, my bill requires institutions to make at least a 10 percent upfront commitment the first year. S. 1338 also requires institutions to analyze their program's effectiveness when they apply for second and subsequent years of grant funding. It requires them to provide statistical data on the grant application regarding numbers of students, employees, and other personnel involved in the program, student incomes, etc. By requiring institutions to submit this data, my bill will encourage institutions to yearly assess the direction, scope, and effectiveness of their program. It will also force an institution to better plan how it will take over the financial responsibility of the program after the termination of Federal support, thereby lowering the institutional drop-out rate that has plagued the program in earlier years.

Mr. Chairman, I want to conclude by stating that during the period of research prior to by introduction of S. 1338, my staff and I endeavored to gain a broad spectrum of input on cooperative education program needs from the higher education community. We talked with the cooperative education association, the National Commission for Cooperative Education, and a variety of two and four year colleges and universities. My bill reflects this broad input. S. 1338 is endorsed by the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, the Association of Community College Trustees, the American Council on Education and the Cooperative Education Association.

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you again for allowing me the opportunity to share my views with my distinguished colleagues this morning.

II

99TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1338

To amend title VIII of the Higher Education Act of 1965, to strengthen cooperative education programs, and for other purposes.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 20 (legislative day, JUNE 3), 1985

Mr. GRASSLEY introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources

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A BILL

To amend title VIII of the Higher Education Act of 1965, to strengthen cooperative education programs, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Cooperative Education Act of 1985".

SEC. 2. Title VIII of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended to read as follows:

"TITLE VIII—COOPERATIVE EDUCATION

"APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED; RESERVATIONS

"SEC. 801. (a) APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED.—There are authorized to be appropriated $50,000,000 for fiscal year 1986, $55,000,000 for fiscal year 1987, $60,000,000 for fiscal year 1988, $65,000,000 for fiscal year 1989, and $70,000,000 for fiscal year 1990 to carry out the cooperative education program authorized by this title.

"(b) RESERVATIONS.—Of the amounts appropriated in each fiscal year—

"(1) not less than 75 percent shall be available for carrying out grants to institutions of higher education and combinations of such institutions for cooperative education under section 802;

"(2) not to exceed 13 percent shall be available for demonstration projects under clause (1) of section 803(a);

"(3) not to exceed 10 percent shall be available for training and resource centers under clause (2) of section 803(a); and

"(4) not to exceed 2 percent shall be available for research under clause (3) of section 803(a).

"(c) AVAILABILITY OF APPROPRIATIONS.—Appropriations under this title shall not be available for the payment of compensation of students for employment by employers under arrangements pursuant to this title.

"GRANTS FOR COOPERATIVE EDUCATION PROGRAMS

"SEC. 802. (a) GRANTS AUTHORIZED; MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF GRANT.—(1) The Secretary is authorized, from the amount available under section 801(b)(1) in each fiscal year and in accordance with the provisions of this title, to make grants to institutions of higher education, or to combinations of such institutions, to pay the Federal share of the cost of planning, establishing, expanding, or carrying out programs of cooperative education by such institutions or combinations of institutions.

"(2)(A) Cooperative education programs assisted under this section shall provide alternating or parallel periods of academic study and of public or private employment, giving work experience related to their academic or occupational objectives and the opportunity to earn the funds necessary for continuing and completing their education.

"(B) The amount of each grant shall not exceed $500,000 to any one institution of higher education in any fiscal year, and shall not exceed an amount equal to the product of $345,000 times the number of institutions participating in such combination, for any fiscal year.

"(b) Applications.—Each institution of higher education, or combination of institutions desiring to receive a grant under this title shall submit an application to the Secretary at such time and in such manner as the Secretary shall prescribe. Each such application shall—

"(1) set forth the program or activities for which a grant is authorized under this section;

"(2) specify each portion of such program or activities which will be performed by a nonprofit organization or institution other than the applicant and the compensation to be paid for such performance;

"(3) provide that the applicant will expend during such fiscal year for the purpose of such program or activities not less than the amount expended for such purpose during the previous fiscal year;

"(4) describe the plans which the applicant will carry out to assure that the applicant will continue the cooperative education program beyond the 5-year period of Federal assistance described in subsection (c)(1);

"(5) provide that the applicant will—

"(A) make such reports as may be essential to insure that the applicant is complying with the provisions of this section, including in the reports for the second and each succeeding fiscal year for which the applicant receives grant data with respect to the impact of the cooperative education program in the previous fiscal year, including—

"(i) the number of students enrolled in the cooperative education program,

"(ii) the number of employers involved in the program, "(iii) the income of the students enrolled, and

"(iv) the increase or decrease of enrollment in the program in the second previous year compared to such previous fiscal year; and

"(B) keep such records as are essential to insure that the applicant is complying with the provisions of this title;

"(6) provide for such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of, and accounting for, Federal funds paid to the applicant under this title; and

"(7) include such other information as is essential to carry out the provisions of this title.

"(c) DURATION OF GRANTS; FEDERAL SHARE.—(1)(A) Except as provided in paragraph (3), no individual institution of higher education, and no individual participant in a combination of such institutions may receive grants under this section for more than 5 fiscal years.

"(B) The limitation contained in subparagraph (A) shall apply to each institution of higher education or participant in a combination of such institutions whether the grant was received before or after the date of enactment of the Cooperative Education Act of 1985.

"(2) The Federal share of a grant under this section may not exceed—

"(A) 90 percent of the cost of carrying out the application in the first year the applicant receives a grant under this section;

"(B) 80 percent of such cost in the second such year;

"(C) 70 percent of such cost in the third such year;

"(D) 60 percent of such cost in the fourth such year; and

"(E) 30 percent of such cost in the fifth such year.

"(3) Any institution of higher education, or participant in a combination of such institutions which—

"(A) has received a grant for 5 fiscal years under this section;

"(B) has conducted without Federal assistance a cooperative education program for at least 2 academic years subsequent to the end of the fifth such fiscal year;

"(C) has expended for the cooperative education program for each such subsequent academic year an amount at least equal to the total cost of the program in the fifth fiscal year in which the institution, or participant, received assistance under this section; and

"(D) provides statistics in the application required under subsection (b) on the number of students enrolled in the cooperative education program, the number of institutional personnel, including faculty advisers and cooperative education coordinators, and the income of the students enrolled, for each such year;

may apply under subsection (b) as an institution, or participant, to which clause (A) of paragraph (2) applies.

"(4) Any provision of law to the contrary notwithstanding, the Secretary shall not waive the provisions of this subsection.

"(d) FACTORS FOR SPECIAL CONSIDERATION OF APPLICATIONS.—In approving applications under this section, the Secretary shall give special consideration to applications from institutions of higher education for programs which show the greatest promise of success because of—

"(1) the extent to which programs in the academic discipline with respect to which the application is made have had a favorable reception by public and private sector employers,

"(2) the commitment of the institution of higher education to cooperative education has demonstrated by the plans which such institution has made to continue the program after the termination of Federal financial assistance,

"(3) the extent to which the institution is committed to extending cooperative education on an institution-wide basis for all students who can benefit, and

"(4) such other factors as are consistent with the purposes of this section.

"DEMONSTRATION AND INNOVATION PROJECTS; TRAINING AND RESOURCE CENTERS; AND RESEARCH

"SEC. 803. (a) AUTHORIZATION.—The Secretary is authorized, in accordance with the provisions of this section, to make grants and enter into contracts for—

"(1) the conduct of demonstration projects designed to demonstrate or determine the feasibility or value of innovative methods of cooperative education, from the amounts available in each fiscal year under section 801(b)(2);

"(2) the conduct of training and resource centers designed to—

"(A) train personnel in the field of cooperative education;

"(B) improve materials used in cooperative education programs;

"(C) furnish technical assistance to institutions of higher education to increase the potential of the institution to continue to conduct a cooperative education program without Federal assistance; and

"(D) encourage model cooperative education programs which furnish education and training in occupations in which there is a national need,

from the amounts available in each fiscal year under section 801(b)(3); and

"(3) the conduct of research relating to cooperative education, from the amounts available in each fiscal year under section 801(b)(4).

"(b) ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISION.—To carry out this section, the Secretary may—

"(1) make grants to or contracts with institutions of higher education, or combinations of such institutions, and

"(2) make grants to or contracts with other public or private nonprofit agencies or organizations, whenever such grants or contracts will make an especially significant contribution to attaining the objectives of this section.".

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Mr. Ford. Thank you very much, Senator. I've looked at your bill with a great deal of interest, and I'm particularly interested in your strong suggestion this morning that we retain cooperative education as its now found as a freestanding title of the Higher Education Act.

Prior to 1980 cooperative education was found in title IV with the student aid provisions in the act, and we thought there was good and sufficient reason given to establish it as a separate and clearly distinguishable program of higher education in the 1980 Amendments, among other reasons being that we found that a lot of people who didn't take the time to look into it confused cooperative education with work/study.

Then on the other side, you had people who confused cooperative education with the kind of on the job training, if you will, that you would find in vocational education and in programs like the JPTA program now, formerly the CETA program; which has job experience as a part of the training.

I'm also interested in the fact that your bill increases the authorization for the basic program from $30 million in 1985 to $37.5 million in 1986, provides for new demonstration and innovation programs with an authorization of $6.5 million, and also provides $5 million for training and resource centers in 1986, with $1 million for research in that year

As I look at the changes that you would make in the law, among others is you've mentioned the unified authorization with set-asides for various programs, an allocation in the resources, an opportunity for reapplication after 2 years following expiration of the previous 5-year grant period, and 90 percent rather than 100 percent Federal share the first year, with your provisions most recently mentioned at the end of your statement for increased institutional accountability.

I find all of those to be very desirable kinds of improvements in the act, given its purpose; and I can assure you that, as one member of this committee, I'm very much impressed with the fact that you've offered some opportunities to improve on what I consider to be, as you've stated it, one of the most cost effective but also most productive from an educational point of view, little pieces of money that we invest out of this whole big pot of money that flows from Washington into what we call postsecondary education.

I can assure you that we will give all of your suggestions full consideration, and hope that when we go to conference with the Senate we'll have the Grassley bill and you standing with us to convince our colleagues on that side that they ought to accept that part at least of our product.

I was serious when I said it's a pleasure to work with you. I've had the opportunity to work with you on matters of interest to me and matters of interest to you since you've been in the Senate, and I've found you and your staff to be very helpful and cooperative, in spite of the difference in our political parties and some decision differences that we had when we served together here in the House. It's always a pleasure to do business with you, Charlie.

When you make a deal, it's a deal; and you stay hitched. You've always been a man of your word with me, and even when I've on rare occasions disagreed with you, I've found that you made me change a little bit during the course of that disagreement.

I don't think that you would be insulted if I were to suggest that you have a long, well earned reputation as a fiscal conservative. I'm pleased to see a fiscal conservative urging this kind of additional commitment in a program that recognizeably needs help. Unfortunately, the people who wrote that budget—and I don't believe it was the education people in this administration; at least I'd like to believe it wasn't them—only looked at numbers, didn't understand the program, and when they talked about sort of wiping it out, I think a part of it was they looked at it and they said, compared to other programs it's small, therefore, it can't be very important.

Indeed, we've, during the now in excess of ninety hours of formal testimony on this reauthorization, found that aside from the big sort of sexy programs with a lot of money in them, there are an awful lot of little pieces that, to some people, look like a lot of complication or something.

Because they are tailored so specifically, they do give us a very good return and some promise of results without massive Federal expenditures.

I don't see anything that is inconsistent with your previous stand as a fiscal conservative with this kind of careful expenditure of funds. I'm happy to join with you; if that will get me called a fiscal conservative, so be it. I don't know if anybody's going to believe that,but at least I could say for a while I agree with Charlie Grassley, now how mad can you get with me.

We will, I'm sure, find a lot of interest in this committee, and I'm sure Mr. Tauke will make sure that your bill is treated kindly. He's a very influential member of this committee.

Mr. Tauke.

Mr. TAUKE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think you said it all, and thank you, Senator.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Hayes.

Mr. HAYES. I'm glad to hear, Mr. Chairman, that you identified Senator Grassley as a fiscal conservative. I didn't know it until you said it. But I must say that, Senator, I will observe H.R. 1338 with careful scrutiny, as I'm sure every other member of the subcommittee will, and support its tenets based on recognition of what the bill is attempting to do and the need for it.

I'm particularly interested in any piece of legislation that's going to give a greater or expanded opportunity for higher education to the disadvantaged and minority people of our society. I see much of the security of this Nation embodied in our efforts to educate our young, our youth.

Your bill, as I understand it, doesn't only stop at the opportunity for an education. It goes to the tenet of providing an opportunity for employment for kids when they finish school.

As I see it, a degree is going to be almost necessary in order to be able to double clutch a broom, as I say it, in the future. I am particularly concerned about it, because so many of our kids are dropping out of school today because they can't find employment at the high school level, becoming so discouraged that they don't even attempt to go to institutions of higher learning.

I see your bill in the light of trying to at least create a better opportunity for those people to get an education. This is our future, as I see it.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Ford. Thank you. Mr. Atkins.

Mr. Atkins. Thank you very much. I just want to thank the Senator for his interest in cooperative education. As a graduate of a college with a cooperative education program and representing Northeastern University, the oldest and largest program, I'm delighted, Senator, by your interest and your activity in this area.

I just have one question. I'ld like to know the extent to which you considered, when drafting your legislation, the problem that arise because Federal support for cooperative education has primarily been designed to start new programs and on a demonstration basis with a clear understanding that Federal funding would terminate after a period of time. While your legislation allows an institution now, for the first time, to reapply for a second grant, I have a concern that we do something in our commitment to cooperative education that goes beyond this step. I believe we should encourage particularly those schools that have a total cooperative program, where it's 100 percent cooperative education. Our commitment should encourage them and recognize the extent to which this kind of program reduces demand for other Federal higher education funding and is therefore worthy of continuing Federal support.

Mr. Grassley. I would suggest to you to look at my bill not just from the standpoint that we allow to people to reapply that that might cost money that ought to go to some new program or new institution to be involved, but think of it in terms of encouraging through the legislation institutions that once get into the program to not be getting into it just for the Federal money and we'll try something here for the short term thrill of it, that we're—that in order to qualify for the second grant they would have to continue 2 years without any Federal help beyond the first 5 years before they could qualify for the second year of grant. Then also, through my accountability provisions, that they would have to show early on in the program, once they've gotten it for the second, third, fourth and fifth year, things that we don't feel they've shown before that show long-term planning, which again would encourage through that a program to keep—an institution to keep a program going.

Now we feel that out there that second year—or I mean, for that second opportunity beyond that second year, which would really be the seventh year, that then, you know, the possibility of applying for a second grant protects that first investment that the taxpayers made, plus the fact that that first investment of the taxpayers here at the Federal level could only be made through—with a 10-percent input from the institution itself.

All those things, we would hope, would build on what we have, cause the institution to be more committed to it, and we want to give a little bit of encouragement to that. That's why the opportunity for the second grant.

Now you have to weigh that against, whether or not—some institution might get a second grant, and then you get a—you limit the opportunity for an institution that's never involved in the program maybe not to get some Federal funds that might encourage them to get involved and broaden the base.

We feel building upon what we have and the commitment of that institution to that long term is—ought to be a very important goal now of this Federal program after we've had some experience with it.

Mr. ATKINS. I guess, the thrust of my question was somewhat different from that.

Mr. GRASSLEY. I'm sorry I didn't answer your question.

Mr. ATKINS. I was coming at it from the other end. There are a few schools in the country that have had a long term commitment to cooperative education and have been barred from much the existing Federal funding, the Federal funding that we've had in the past. To what extent do you think that there ought to be something that encourages them and, in fact, even provides some Federal resources for them to share their experiences with other schools?

Mr. GRASSLEY. And you see my——

Mr. ATKINS. Well, I see you moving in that direction. I'm just wondering if——

Mr. GRASSLEY. But your question to me is that we are going to limit the possibility of getting some help out there to some other institutions because of the second year grant. I mean—not the second year grant. I mean the reapplication after the first 5 years.

Mr. ATKINS. It seems as though you're putting a number of barriers in the way of continued funding for—cooperative education. While I applaud your allowing the opportunity for continued funding, I'm wondering whether you need to have those kinds of barriers. And you, obviously, have given substantial consideration to that. Shouldn't we have almost a presumption that, to those programs that really are national models of excellence, there should be a commitment of continuing Federal support for them if only as research centers and as places that can serve as models for other institutions wanting to start the programs?

I just ask you to consider that. While I do applaud the direction that your legislation goes in, I think it's an improvement over the existing statute, I just encourage you to go further in that direction.

Mr. FORD. Thank you very much. Thank you, Senator, for your cooperation with this committee.

Mr. GRASSLEY. And thank you for your patience. I appreciate it very much. Let me also suggest that I hope that, if there are questions like Mr. Atkins has that I or my staff could continue to work with your people here to get a clear understanding, because we would not say we have a perfect piece of legislation, we'd be glad to consider suggestions.

Mr. FORD. We'll certainly be involved with you in any changes or improvements we seek to make.

Mr. GRASSLEY. And thank you, Congressman Tauke, for your kind remarks; Congressman Ford, for yours.

Mr. FORD. The Honorable Terry Bruce, who is accompanied today by Dr. Michael Crawford, chancellor of Eastern Iowa Community College District, and also the chairman of the Joint Commission on Federal Relations from the Association of Community and Junior

Colleges of America and the Association of Community College Trustees.

Mr. Bruce, it's a real pleasure to have you on that side of the table, just as it is to have you on this side of the table. Your prepared statement will be inserted in full in the record immediately preceding your comments, and you may add to it, supplement it, editorialize or highlight it in any way that you believe would be most illuminating to the record.

Mr. BRUCE. And do it briefly. Is that right?

STATEMENT BY HON. TERRY L. BRUCE

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman, thank you, members of the committee for giving me the opportunity to talk about some legislation that I hope will be, considered as part of the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act.

Joining me this morning at the table is Dr. Michael Crawford who is chancellor of the Eastern Iowa Community College District, and also he's chairman of the Joint Commission on Federal Relations for the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges and the Association of Community College Trustees.

I'd like to share with you this morning just some thoughts on one direction I think our institutions of higher education might take as we conclude this subcommittee's consideration of the Higher Education Act.

In the next couple of weeks, I will be introducing the National Higher Education and Economic Development Act of 1985. The purpose of this act is to assist local communities in maintaining and improving their industrial and business environments by encouraging the active and systematic involvement of institutions of higher education.

Perhaps more important to the country as a whole, this legislation will enable us to more fully utilize our Nation's educational resources in developing an economic strategy for an increased understanding of our technology and business operations as they presently exist in this country.

I believe that's going to be necessary if we are going to solve the problems that face our country, particularly in the area of trade deficits. Without some sort of initiative, I'm afraid that industry after industry in this country will look abroad for new ideas and new innovations.

We have heard a great deal over the last couple of weeks about the economic recovery that our Nation has made. Only last week, the administration was happy to report that unemployment had dipped to 7 percent. In fact, there are now fewer people reporting for unemployment insurance than at any other time since 1981.

I think we all recognize that this is good news, but I trust we also recognize that we need to report even far better news if we are going to have total economic recovery.

In fact, the bad news is that we cannot be an economically viable nation with millions still unemployed. The worse news is that, even with the recovery, there are areas in this country where there's no recovery at all. Some parts of the United States are still suffering from nearly depression levels of unemployment.

During the first 8 months of this year, we've lost 210,000 manufacturing jobs, and since 1979 this country has lost over 1.5 million jobs in manufacturing. In Illinois the latest unemployment rates rose to 9 percent. In Michigan the rate remains at 10.2; Ohio, 9 percent. In fact, there are 23 States in the United States where unemployment is still above 7 percent.

Illinois is a State that's heavily dependent upon manufacturing, as Mr. Hayes can certainly report to the committee. In my own area of southeastern Illinois, average unemployment is 11 percent. I have 18 counties in my district; 11 of them have unemployment rates in excess of 14 percent. Vermillion County, which is home to the city of Danville, probably a very typical American small community of 40,000, has an unemployment rate of 15 percent. Lawrence County on the Illinois/Indiana border, has 16 percent unemployment. In my own home county, a light industrial-agricultural community county of 18,000, the unemployment rate there is 17.6 percent.

But there is good news, too, in each of those areas. Danville has Danville Community College. They're working very closely with the business center to bring new industry into that area, and we're happy that Blue Cross/Blue Shield just located one of their processing centers there.

Lawrence County is working through the community college located in Robinson, and Lincoln Trail College is doing a good job trying to help them. Olney is served in Richland County by Olney Central College, and they, too, have a small business center and are trying to locate and help them expand industry.

I've personally worked with many chambers of commerce in the area, local officials, and many others interested in economic development. I've seen firsthand how important postsecondary education can be in assisting these communities in getting new industry. I think we should recognize that there's hardly a congressional district in the United States that does not have at least one community college located within it, or certainly very nearby.

We've talked about the economic problems of central and southern Illinois, but we, as a nation, are becoming increasingly uncompetitive in the international marketplace. We are losing not just markets, but entire industries to our adversaries, and sometimes even to our friends overseas.

Last year we had a record trade deficit of $123 billion. This year they're looking at $150 billion. We once dominated the world in capital goods. Last year we imported more than a quarter of the capital goods used in the United States, and as a world leader we're supposed to be the high salesmen in high technology.

In 1984 for the first time the United States reported a trade deficit in electronic goods as computer exports dropped 13 percent, and the trade of semiconductors slipped $2.9 billion into the red. The national erosion of our trade affects all of us. For each $1 billion lost in trade, we lose 25,000 jobs, and this means that this year's projected $150 billion trade deficit means that 3.7 million Americans will go without work.

There are a variety of factors that lead to a trade deficit—the strength of the dollar, the size of the deficit. But even if the dollar were to weaken and we were able to balance the budget quickly in

Congress, the problems we face are not going to magically disappear.

We need to develop a national strategy to address our national problem of employment, and I believe an essential element of this strategy will be to utilize education and business resources to their fullest.

We're going to look at 300 pieces of legislation this year on protection of basic industries in the United States. Some of them will be adopted. Some of them need to be. But it's without question that we need to give our industries the best knowledge, the best facilities, the best techniques that they can in order to compete. A great deal of that knowledge is in our academic institutions and our business community.

The approach that I am suggesting is not necessarily a new one. We began 20 years ago in Congress recognizing the need for modernization and economic growth by creating what was known as the State Technical Services Act of 1965, the STS. It was based upon the old agricultural extension model, and it didn't work as well as it could have.

It suffered from inadequate funding, and it was very thinly spread across the entire United States. It received only 3 years of funding, and it did not have a chance to develop the sort of structure we need to have an adequate field agent network that would have ensured its success.

Even though that program was terminated at the Federal level, some States have continued to use that model and have industrial extension services. The State of Pennsylvania, operating through Pennsylvania State University, continues the program.

A recent report on the program in Pennsylvania showed that for every dollar spent by the State, the program returned $17 to the local community. There are other successful models that exist throughout the United States. Major research universities are involved in technology transfer. Many community colleges are involved in individual training to keep new businesses. But what I see in this country is a fragmented program where we do not have overall cooperation between all the universities, all the community colleges, business, unions, and others so that we can realize this country's full potential.

We had a field hearing in Champagne-Urbana, and one of the purposes of that field hearing earlier this year was to bring in a group of people to talk about how higher education could be involved in economic development.

Now Mr. Ford, Mr. Hayes were both kind enough to come out and attend that hearing. I think what we heard there was that there was a great deal of need to promote collaboration between education, business, labor and government; and that is the purpose of the National Higher Education and Economic Development Act, to have a link between postsecondary education institutions and local government and labor and business and industry.

The underlying premise of the act is that effective community economic development is enhanced by the participation of postsecondary educational institutions.

There are five areas in particular where I believe postsecondary institutions might be involved:

In planning and research for economic development through joint planning councils where people would sit down and talk about what strategy should work best for economic growth in the area.

Resource exchanges to encourage the exchange of faculty and government and business experts to support economic development.

There could be more on curriculum development for economic growth to identify economic and emerging manpower fields, and also to identify specialized training needed for the future.

Finally, I believe there ought to be some sort of special projects program for the application of technology research to manufacturing aspects of mature industries, technical assistance centers, and some way to get involved in technology transfer.

Let me just leave my notes for just a moment to indicate to you that I think one of the areas where the higher educational community could be of greatest importance, is in technology transfer. I'm fortunate to have in my district the Civil Engineering Research Laboratory, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, one of five research laboratories in the United States.

They're involved in all kinds of activities, from construction of roads to putting roofs on buildings to heating and cooling, in every base that the U.S. Army owns and Navy and the other branches. They're involved in trying to make those bases more efficient, make them easier to maintain, including all the problems you would have in plumbing, heating, cooling, roads, building construction. They're involved in all of it.

Colonel Thurer who heads the Federal Lab in Champaign and were talking about the problems he has. He says, after we get all this research done, after we know how to coat all the roofs of all the buildings the U.S. Government owns, he said that the difficulty is, if someone doesn't make it, the U.S. Army can't buy it. That's in a word, or in a sentence, summarizing the problems I think we have: if all the technology, if all the information we have on university campuses, if that is not transferred to someone to manufacture it, no one can buy it.

I think that one of the things that this bill will do is encourage and provide an incentive for people to not only do the research but encourage them to go out and have someone make it so it can be purchased.

Finally, my bill would support the identification and dissemination of proven models. We don't need to reinvent the wheel at every university and community college across the United States. There are effective models that we ought to take a look at and say to people, these are ways that we've done it in Nevada, or here's what we've done in California; how can that be applied to Michigan and Illinois and Massachusetts?

This bill would provide an incentive for postsecondary institutions to reach out. Every application must be a joint effort. No application can be approved unless it was a university or community college joined by a union, or joined by a local chamber of commerce, or a not-for-profit corporation, or some governmental unit. It has to be a joint effort, and there has to be collaboration.

So it's an incentive program to reach out beyond the borders of their own campus to find out how they can be a more active participant in the economic development of their communities and their areas.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Terry L. Bruce follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. TERRY L. BRUCE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you and my other distinguished colleagues of the Postsecondary Education Subcommittee as we consider reauthorization of the Higher Education Act.

Joining me this morning is Dr. Michael Crawford, Chancellor of Eastern Iowa Community College District and also Chairman of the Joint Commission on Federal Relations for the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges and the Association of Community College Trustees.

I would like to take this opportunity to share with you some thoughts on one direction that our institutions of higher education could take as we move toward the turn of the century.

In the next few weeks, I will be introducing the National Higher Education and Economic Development Act of 1985. This Act, I believe, will assist local communities to maintain and improve their industrial and business environments by encouraging the active and systematic involvement of postsecondary schools in the economic activities of the communities which they serve.

Perhaps more important to the country as a whole, this legislation will enable us to more fully utilize all our nations educational resources in developing economic strategy, technology and business operations which are necessary if we are to resolve our growing trade deficit. Without this sort of initiative, I'm afraid that industry after industry will look abroad for new ideas and innovations, allowing them to capture and dominate the economic playing field upon which American business will have to compete in the future.

We have heard a good deal over the last few years about the economic recovery that our nation has made. Only last week, the administration was happy to report that our national unemployment rate has dipped to 7%. There are fewer people reporting for unemployment insurance now than at any other time since 1981.

We all recognize this is good news. But I trust we also recognize that we need to report far better news before we can claim national economic recovery.

The bad news is that we cannot be an economically vital nation with millions of unemployed workers. The worse news is that even this recovery is spotty at best. Some areas of the United States are still suffering from depression level unemployment. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that 210,000 jobs in manufacturing were lost in the first eight months this year. Since 1979 we have lost over 1.5 million jobs in manufacturing.

In my home State of Illinois, the latest unemployment rate rose to 9%. In Michigan the rate remains at 10.2%. In Ohio, 9.1% of the people are unable to find work. Overall, twenty-three States continue to experience unemployment above 7%.

Closer examination reveals even more startling figures. The average unemployment rate in the areas of central and southern Illinois that I represent is 11%. Eleven of the 18 counties have unemployment rates in excess of 14%. Some of these counties are experiencing even higher rates. Vermillion county, which is home to the typical American small city of Danville, Illinois has an unemployment rate of nearly 15%. Lawrence, which is a border county between Indiana and Illinois reports unemployment that is now in excess of 16%. Even in my home county of Richland, which historically supports a diversified economy of light industry and agriculture, suffers an unemployment rate of 17.6%.

But there is good news in each of these areas also. In Vermillion County, Danville Area Community College is working with local businesses, labor and government to turn their economic situation around. Crawford County is being served by Lincoln Trail Community College in a similar way, and the faculty and staff of Olney Central College are working to help plan the economic future of those of us who live in Richland County and the surrounding area.

Mr. Chairman, I have personally worked with the Chambers of Commerce in these areas, the local officials and representatives of colleges on economic development programs. I have seen first hand how important and how helpful postsecondary education institutions can be in assisting economically distressed communities rebuild their economic base. I believe these efforts should be supported, expanded and reinforced. As you know, there is scarcely a congressional district that does not have at least a community college which can be effectively used in improving the economic community in which they reside.

The economic problems we face are far greater than those of Central and Southern Illinois. Our nation is becoming increasingly uncompetitive in the international marketplace. We are loosing not just markets, but entire industries to our adversaries, and even our friends overseas.

Last year, we had a record trade deficit of 123 billion dollars. This year we can anticipate another sad record, with the deficit in the range of 150 billion dollars. Once we dominated world markets in capital goods. But last year we imported more than a quarter of the capital goods used in the United States.

Even our position as world leader of high technology sales is threatened. In 1984, for the first time the United States reported a trade deficit in electronic goods as computer exports dropped 13% and trade of semiconductors slipped 2.9 billion dollars into the red.

The national erosion of our trade effects us all and is felt by the people living in the communities we represent. Each billion lost in trade results in a loss of 25,000 jobs. That means that the expected 150 billion dollar deficit means that 3.7 million American will be thrown out of work.

Clearly, there are a variety of factors which contribute to the trade deficit. The excessive strength of the dollar abroad and the size of the federal deficit are most important. But a balanced budget and a less expensive dollar are not going to magically appear and solve our trade problems. We need to develop a national strategy to address this national problem. One essential element to this strategy must be to utilize our educational and business resources to their fullest.

This year, Congress will consider nearly 300 pieces of legislation designed to give short term protection to various American industries. Some of these solutions may need to be adopted and others not. But it is almost without question that we need to give our industries the best knowledge, facilities and techniques that are being developed. We need to bring the best minds in academia together with our best business minds. Together, they can improve local economies. By making out local industries stronger, we will also facilitate the competitiveness of American industry.

Some twenty years ago, Congress recognized the need to promote industrial modernization and economic growth by enacting the State Technical Services Act of 1965 (STS). Based upon the successful agricultural extension model, STS suffered from inadequate funding spread thinly across the fifty states. Receiving only three years of federal support, the program was unable to produce the needed structures—such as an adequate field agent network—to ensure success.

While federal support was terminated, a few States used their own funds to continue this model. One well known program is PENNTAP which provides a network of industrial extension services based at Pennsylvania State University. The program recently reported that for every dollar spent seventeen dollars were returned to the local economy.

Other successful models exist throughout the country, in various degrees of development and sophistication. Major research universities are involved in technology transfer and many community colleges provide individual training to meet the needs of small businesses. Overall however, these efforts have been fragmented, sometimes adhoc and have not fully recognized the potential our postsecondary education institutions have in contributing to economic revitalization and international competitiveness.

Earlier this year, this Subcommittee held a field hearing on reauthorization of the Higher Education Act at the University of Illinois at Champaign. At that time, we convened a panel of college and business professionals to discuss the role of higher education and economic development. We explored existing models, their successes and failures. While much is being done, it is clear that much can still be done to promote collaboration between education, business, labor and government.

The National Higher Education and Economic Development Act attempts to closely link postsecondary education institutions with local governments, labor, business and industry in a coordinated effort to revitalize our local communities. The underlying premise of the Act is that effective community economic development is enhanced by the participation of postsecondary education institutions, and that these resources must be mobilized in a more systematic and comprehensive manner in order to plan, maintain, and attract lasting economic improvement.

The legislation sets out five areas of support.

Planning and Research for Economic Development to support activities such as the development of joint planning councils to map out short and long term strategies for economic growth and productivity, research and studies to complement local planning efforts, activities of applied research to complement local economic development activities;

Resource Exchange—to encourage the exchange of faculty and government and business experts to support economic development. Activities under this area could include the development of resource directories which provide information on faculty experts and research capabilities, short and long term technical assistance to solve specific economic problems and cooperative efforts to pool talents of business and higher education.

Curriculum Development for Economic Growth—to develop curricula in emerging manpower fields and curricula for specialized training which meet business and industry needs.

Special Projects—which are innovative and address broad or national economic development issues in the specific areas of: the application of technology research to manufacturing aspects of mature industries; the design and development of university-based technical assistance centers which will provide an integrated program of education, research and technology transfer to business and industry; projects to support entrepreneurship training and technical assistance, including support for the development of incubator facilities; and projects to develop new approaches or complement efforts to explore, expand, and foster opportunities for international business and trade.

Finally, the bill would provide support for the identification and dissemination of proven effective models in the areas of postsecondary education and economic development so that others can benefit from these successes.

Understanding that the most successful efforts are those that are locally designed and initiated, the bill will address support in general terms.

However, to insure collaboration and that the activities proposed are relevant to local efforts, applications must be made by a postsecondary education institution and at least one of the following organizations: (1) units of state or local governments; (2) labor; (3) business and/or industry; and (5) non-profit organizations concerned with economic development. Applications could be submitted by individual institutions or by a consortia of postsecondary education institutions. In addition, regional approaches to economic development activities would be encouraged.

The benefits of an initiative in this field will not be immediately realized. This bill, like so many considered by this Subcommittee, is part of a long term investment. But if we are serious about revitalizing our economy in all areas and maintaining our international competitiveness, we must take the initial step. By making modest investments, which encourage and link successful collaborations, the foundation for more ambitious efforts will be established.

Each Subcommittee member has been given a synopsis of the proposed legislation. It is still in the draft stages and we hope to have it completed within the next week. I would welcome your comments and suggestions in an effort to forge effective and beneficial legislation.

Thank you. I will be happy to respond to any questions.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE NATIONAL HIGHER EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1985

FINDINGS AND STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

THE CONGRESS finds that the economic vitality and international competitiveness of the United States depends upon utilizing all available resources; that effective community economic development is enhanced by the active participation of postsecondary education institutions; that there is a need for more systematic and comprehensive efforts to link postsecondary education institutions with state and local governments, labor, business and industry in order to plan, maintain and attract lasting economic improvement; that federal leadership is critical to promoting such linkages.

The purposes of this Act are therefore—

(1) to stimulate colleges and universities to mobilize more fully their resources to overcome problems which impede economic development in the area or region which they serve;

(2) to encourage the involvement of postsecondary education institutions with units of government, labor, business and industry and other appropriate organizations in the planning, research and development of activities that promote expansion and retention of local job opportunities;

(3) to foster linkages which can contribute to a community's overall economic development efforts for retraining and expanding business and industry opportunities in the area;

(4) to stimulate and augment local initiatives which recognize postsecondary education institutions as important resources and utilize their expertise in addressing solutions to overcome economic decline;

(5) to demonstrate the effectiveness of new approaches to stimulating economic development involving partnerships of postsecondary education institutions and others concerned with economic development and to make those approaches available to other areas of the Nation.

ALLOWABLE ACTIVITIES

Applications may apply for assistance under this Act to support the following activities:

(a) Planning and Research for Economic Development, including activities of applied research to complement local economic development activities;

(b) Resource Exchange to encourage the exchange of faculty and government and business experts to support economic development;

(c) Curriculum Development for Economic Growth to develop curricula in emerging manpower fields and for specialized training that meet business and industry needs;

(d) Special Projects in Economic Growth which address broad or national economic development issues, are innovative in their approach and hold promise of application beyond the area served. Specific areas of support under this activity are: the application of technology research to manufacturing aspects of mature industries in a region or State; the design and development of university based technical assistance centers which will provide an integrated program of education, research and technology transfer to business and industry; projects to support entrepeneurship training and technical assistance; projects to develop new approaches or complement efforts to explore, expand and foster opportunities for international business and trade.

(e) In addition, the Secretary is authorized to make a limited number of grants to identify and disseminate effective models and techniques which use partnerships of postsecondary education institutions and others involved in economic development to support lasting economic improvement.

ELIGIBILITY FOR ASSISTANCE

To be eligible to receive a grant under this Act, applicants must be a postsecondary education institution and involve one or more of the following organizations:

(a) local or State units of government

(b) business and industry

(c) labor unions or union representatives

(d) non-profit organizations concerned with economic development in the area to be served

Each application for a grant authorized under this Act, shall be filed with the Secretary at such time or times as he may prescribe and shall:

(a) set forth a program of activities which are likely to make substantial progress toward achieving the purposes of the Act.

(b) describe how the plan fits into the overall economic development and or redevelopment plan for the area to be served, contributes to long term economic growth and employment opportunities and furthers the goals of the postsecondary education institution;

(c) provide an effective dissemination strategy to insure that the successful results of the activities can be shared with other areas;

(d) provide assurances that an assessment has been made of federal and state resources and that these resources are unavailable for the proposed activity; and

(e) describe the consultation with, and if appropriate coordination with, other Federal and State economic development efforts such as the Job Training Partnership Act and programs sponsored by the U.S. Economic Development Administration.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

There are authorized to be appropriated for activities supported in (a), (b) and (c), $15,000,000 for fiscal year 1986 and such sums as may be necessary for fiscal years 1987, 1988, 1989 and 1990. For activities described in (d) and (e), there is authorized to be appropriated $5,000,000 for fiscal year 1986 and such sums as necessary for fiscal years 1987, 1988, 1989 and 1990.

Mr. **BRUCE**. Mr. Chairman, thank you.

Mr. FORD. Thank you. Dr. Crawford.

STATEMENT OF DR. MICHAEL CRAWFORD, CHANCELLOR OF EASTERN IOWA COMMUNITY COLLEGE DISTRICT

Mr. CRAWFORD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

If I may, I also want to thank you for allowing this to be Iowa-Illinois day on your subcommittee. We have a close connection between those two States, particularly where I sit on the Mississippi; and we get along very well. Congressman Hayes, Congressman Bruce, if you'll allow me to say this, we get along every day except one day out of the year, and that's going to be next month when Iowa beats Illinois to go to the Rose Bowl. You may not agree with that either, Mr. Chairman. Another one of your Congressmen does.

Mr. FORD. This is not going to be a premium year at University of Michigan. We figured some of the lesser schools ought to have an opportunity for a year or two. So we're just sort of coasting for a while.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I see. I don't suspect I ought to argue with that.

I might mention, Mr. Chairman, also, if Congressman Bruce will permit, that I'm delighted that our presentation follows Senator Grassley's testimony on cooperative education. The community colleges which I represent as chairman of their Joint Commission on Federal Relations, work closely with the Senator and his staff in preparing that. I think that clearly title VIII, the section on cooperative education, that there's a very close tie to what Congressman Bruce is presenting here in terms of economic development partnerships.

I'm pleased that Congressman Bruce has asked me to join him in this presentation with regard to his plan for fostering partnerships, uniting postsecondary education. We hear a lot about partnerships between local government units, State government units, business and industry, labor unions, nonprofit organizations; and many of us across the country are doing this.

We hear a lot of talk across the country through higher education of the need for this. I can tell you, and I'm proud of the fact, that community colleges, as you well know, have spearheaded many of these partnerships in their local communities, because we are community based organizations.

My own institution, through our three community colleges in the Eastern Iowa Community College District, one of them Clinton Community College located in Congressman Tauke's district, have entered into a number of these partnerships. We administer the Job Training Partnership Act. We're involved in a very unique program.

Iowa has the only statute of its kind, called the Iowa Jobs Training Program where we work cooperatively with business and industry in providing start-up training programs for businesses located in Iowa, expanding our new businesses in Iowa.

We've entered into other kinds of partnerships with the Rock Island Arsenal, a Federal installation in the Quad City area, where we are doing presently most of the training for that installation in cooperation with them.

We've worked cooperatively recently with the city of Davenport in constructing a facility jointly where they receive funding through the Urban Mass Transit Authority to build a ground transportation center. We built the second floor on that for our downtown urban center and took advantage of that site. It's logical for us as a community college, because it brings commuter students on those buses right down to that commuter institution and the community college sitting on top of it.

Those are some examples. We have many others in community colleges with local school districts, independent colleges, 4 year universities, hospitals, business and industry, YMCA's. I think community colleges are doing that kind of thing, and we need to have the incentives through this kind of program to encourage 2 year and 4 year institutions to get involved with this kind of thing.

We want to encourage the senior institutions and community colleges to unite in creating partnerships. I have one example I'd like to share with you as quickly as I possibly can of what I think is an excellent example, exemplary, probably not typical, of an institution that has really taken the initiative in Alabama, the University of Alabama; and in doing so, I think, provides a good example and a reason why incentives need to be provided to encourage higher education institutions to do this kind of thing.

Let me give this to you as quickly as I possibly can. When recession hit General Motors in Tuscaloosa, AL, no one seemed to know what to do. Opened in 1978, the employed workers who assembled replacement carburetors, emission control components, and carburetor service kits.

When demand for the products plummeted in 1980, nearly one-third of the United Auto Workers employees were laid off, but the plant still needed to cut back costs significantly to remain competitive.

The teams that GM sent in to study the problem did not find solutions. On August 17, 1982 GM announced it was phasing out the plant. With unemployment already 17 percent, Tuscaloosa could ill afford the loss of some 200 GM jobs and the almost $7 million a year that the plant had been spending on wages and local purchases of supplies.

On the advice of local business leaders, the GM experts decided to approach the University of Alabama. By the first week in January 1983, local industrial development boards had agreed to give the university a grant of $75,000 to seed research. At that time many asked how professors and students could solve problems that had stumped GM with all of its expertise.

The university proceeded to assemble a half dozen colleagues, specialists in management, engineering and energy. They were asked to review the plant's operations and systems, and see if the university could cut operating costs by the $470,000 a year needed to save the plant.

Significant point, I think. Representatives of the university, GM and the UAW hammered out a 3 year contract. The university agreed to pay GM $470,000 a year for the opportunity to use the plant as an applied research facility. That took care of GM's shortfall. In return GM pledged $250,000 a year in fellowships and scholarships for the university, regardless of the outcome. As a union concession, plant employees accepted a pay reduction of $55 a week. Community colleges were then targeted for the necessary training and retraining to help get the plant back on track.

To make a long story short, in just 8 months the university, through its research efforts, achieved a $470,000 savings for GM. For its efforts, the university was then guaranteed a minimum of $750,000 in scholarships over the life of the contract. In addition, it could reasonably assure GM of at least another $500,000 in annual savings to come. Each employee was returned $1,600 before Christmas 1983.

In other words, those who made the sacrifice through investment, in effect, all ultimately benefited.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, as chair of the Joint Commission on Federal Relations of our two national community college organizations, I can report to you that community colleges across the land support the Bruce concept. As the Congressman is emphasizing, his plan would initiate competitive programs for economic development, and it would require the partnership of a postsecondary institution or consortia of such in every project.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, to even better serve the 8½ million students in our Nation's community colleges, we encourage your support of the Bruce initiative as you consider reauthorization of the Higher Education Act.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Michael D. Crawford follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MICHAEL D. CRAWFORD, CHANCELLOR, THE EASTERN IOWA COMMUNITY COLLEGE DISTRICT

Mr. Chairman: I am honored and pleased that Congressman Bruce has asked me to join him in the presentation of his plan to foster partnerships uniting postsecondary education institutions and local and state units of government, business and industry, labor unions and non-profit organizations.

Much is heard these days in Washington and throughout the Nation about the need for cooperative partnerships. Community colleges have often spearheaded these partnerships in their local communities. My own institution in Eastern Iowa is involved in many kinds of partnerships. First, we administer the regional Job Training Partnership Act program which is representative of the Federal encouragement of private/public partnerships. Second, through support from Iowa's unique statute, called the Iowa Jobs Training Program, our institution and many other community colleges in Iowa are providing start-up training for workers in businesses which want to locate or expand in Iowa. These partnerships are having a positive effect on Iowa's economy, on individual private corporations and on the lives of individual workers. Third, our institution has trained staff for the Rock Island Arsenal, a Federal installation just across the Mississippi River from our district. Fourth, we have joined with the City of Davenport in constructing a new facility providing space for both the Eastern Iowa Community College District and the city's Ground Transportation Center supported in part by Federal dollars. We are committed to the establishment of partnerships with our community and we will work aggressively to encourage others.

Community colleges want to encourage our brothers in the senior institutions to unite with us in creating partnerships. Have you heard about the university that saved the factory? We first heard about it when they approached our community colleges to provide the new skills training for the workers.

When the recession hit GM Tuscaloosa, Alabama no one seemed to know what to do. Opened in 1978, the plant employed workers who assembled replacement carburetors, emission-control components and carburetor-service kits. When demand for the products plummeted in 1980, nearly one-third of the United Automobile Workers (UAW) employees were laid off, but the plant still needed to cut costs significantly to remain competitive. The teams that GM sent in to study the problem did not find solutions. On August 17, 1982 GM announced that it was phasing out the plant. With unemployment already 17 percent, Tuscaloosa could ill afford the loss of some 200 GM jobs and the almost $7 million a year that the plant had been spending on wages and local purchase of supplies.

On the advice of local business leaders, the GM experts decided to approach the University of Alabama. By the first week in January 1983, local industrial-development boards had agreed to give the university a grant of $75,000 to seed research. At that time many asked how professors and students could solve problems that had stumped GM with all its expertise.

The university assembled a half-dozen colleagues—specialists in management, engineering, energy. They were asked to review the plant's operations and systems, and see if the university could cut operating costs by the $470,000 a year needed to save the plant.

Representatives of the university, GM and the UAW hammered out a three-year contract. The university agreed to pay GM $470,000 a year for the opportunity to use the plant as an applied-research facility. That took care of GM's shortfall. In return GM pledged $250,000 a year in fellowships and scholarships for the university, regardless of the outcome. As a union concession, plant employees accepted a pay reduction of $55.20 a week. Community colleges were targeted for the necessary training and retraining.

To make a long story short, in just eight months, the university through its research efforts achieved a $470,000 savings for GM. For its efforts, the university was then guaranteed a minimum of $750,000 in scholarships over the life of the contract. In addition, it could reasonably assure GM of a least another $500,000 in annual savings to come. Each employee was returned $1,600 before Christmas, 1983.

As Chair of the Joint Commission on Federal Relations of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges and the Association of Community College Trustees, I can report that the community colleges across the land look favorably upon the Bruce concept. As the Congressman is emphasizing, his plan would initiate competitive programs to help areas adversely affected by changing industrial technology and by high unemployment as well as promote economic development for rural and agricultural communities. It would require the partnership of a postsecondary institution or consortia in every project.

Mr. Chairman, to even better serve the eight and one-half million students in our Nation's community colleges, we encourage your support of the Bruce initiative as you consider reauthorization of the Higher Education Act.

Mr. **Ford**. Thank you very much. Doctor, I had the pleasure of attending the Midwest Governors conference in mid-August. Thirteen Midwestern Governors who are in that association were either there or had their representatives there. Listening for 2 days to the discussions with the perspective of a member of this committee for many years, I was very pleased to notice a virtual consensus amongst those Governors, and I'm pleased to say that in both political parties they impress me as the best crop of Midwestern Governors we've had in a long time in terms of their understanding of the adjoining States and the interdependence of those States, and how there are solutions to problems that are much better than simply we can get a plant out of your State into our State sort of an approach that traditionally was the kind of rivalry that has gone on between the Midwestern States.

It's more now directed to the idea of how can we develop strategies that will help us all to improve our economic recovery. As Mr. Bruce has indicated, there wasn't a Midwestern Governor there who would be willing to acknowledge that his State had indeed recovered, or that it looked very good if nothing was done for long-term improvement in the conditions within the State.

They weren't negative about this. They were looking at it as a reality and talking actively about what kind of strategies might be developed to cope with this. I was pleased to hear how often they mentioned the involvement of the ready supply of fine institutions of postsecondary education that are located in the Midwestern States.

There were a number of these universities who made presentations to the Governors, and I listened to the kind of questions they were getting. They were not how can you help my State, but how can you develop with us strategies that we can work on that are going to help our part of the country, and indeed our country.

Maybe the tough conditions we've had in the last 5 or 6 years have brought about this awakening process, but I came away very much encouraged with the fact that these people not only were willing to recognize the problems we have, but wanted to do something about them, and the something meant more than simply tinkering with taxes and comp laws and things of that kind, but really a broader approach.

They kept coming back over and over to the fact that they considered the institutions of postsecondary education in their States to be a very valuable asset and potential partner in not just recovering but developing a sensible plan for the future in those States.

I'm not at all surprised that sitting on the Mississippi River you get along well with both of the States. We have to be very careful here to make sure that Mississippi doesn't come between the very strong members of this committee from each side of that river, and I'm always pleased to see anybody come in here and set the example that you can be on one side or the other and it doesn't really make that much difference.

Mr. Crawford. The river, Mr. Chairman, is not nearly as wide as some people think. We've become convinced in Iowa, in fact, that Chicago is now a part of our State; and we're renaming it, as well as some other urban centers around the country. You may see a public relations campaign to that respect.

If I may, your comments, I think, have a lot to do with turf. It has a lot to do with crossing State boundaries. I think it relates directly to the section in Congressman Bruce's presentation with regard to regions, and the regionalization, regional effort of economic development which, I think, clearly we must be doing not only within our States but across State boundaries.

Where I do sit, we can't have a regional economic development effort without reaching across that river and including both. Within Iowa right now, we are dividing the State up into economic development regions; and interestingly enough, by the way, using the 15 community college districts as those regions.

That effort is in process. There's no funding behind it, but that effort to organize is in process. Then, specifically, in our area we, of course, must go across those lines. I think that is a significant point. I think tough times bring people together and allow them to erase turf lines and see the better good, in this case, with regard to economic development.

Mr. Ford. Thank you. Mr. Bruce, I'm very much attracted to the language of the outline of your proposed bill that yov've provided us. Almost immediately it appealed to me that it could be very readily wedded to as a distinct part of title XI of the act, which is the Urban Grant University Program which had as its basis the consortia of institutions of various kinds in a given area to do some of the things that you're talking about here.

I think indeed it might provide us with a fleshing out of that approach that would be more easily understood by the Appropriations Committees than title XI has until now, and might in fact provide the way for us to start getting some funding.

So I look forward to working with you on the initiative you've taken, and I want to congratulate you and thank you for it, and also thank you at this time for the fine job you did in setting up the hearing at Champaign-Urbana for the committee early in our consideration of the reauthorization. You had representatives of every type of institution that one might imagine they would find in that State, as well as business spokesmen. I believe you had the chamber of commerce there, if I'm not mistaken.

Mr. BRUCE. Yes and we had proprietary schools, community colleges and senior institutions.

Mr. FORD. And we had the same thing in Iowa with Mr. Tauke, a very fine cross-section of people, a clear indication, if you listen to those hearings as we did for several hours, you find that these people really were talking about working together with common objectives rather than fighting over traditional turf.

Mr. BRUCE. It was Mr. Tauke's hearing that made me do so well, Mr. Chairman, because you came back saying what an excellent time you had had out there and I told the staff we had to work a lot harder because you had said the week before you had had such a wonderful hearing with Mr. Tauke. I thovght we should go out of our way to make sure we had a good hearing. You went on and on about how well you had done in Iowa.

Mr. FORD. Well, thank you, gentlemen, very much for your contribution today. I would like to now call on Mr. Tauke.

Mr. TAUKE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and welcome to both of you, both sides of the river.

First of all, Dr. Crawford, I do want to commend you and your institutions for the work you already do in the economic development arena. As you indicated, Clinton Community College, which is part of your system, is in my district. Recently, when we began to try to initiate some economic development efforts in the Clinton area, it was Clinton Community College under the great leadership of the immediate past president, Dr. Spence, who really kicked off that effort and got it underway, and that effort continues. But it would not have been undertaken without the initiative of the Clinton Community College and Dr. spence.

I have found time and again that the Clinton Community College in Clinton and Kirkwood Community College in Cedar Rapids have been in the forefront of economic development in those communities.

So I am very encouraged by what the community colleges have done in that area, particularly in our State of Iowa. I know that you are one of those who has provided leadership.

What intrigues me about the legislation that is being proposed by Congressman Bruce is that it seems to expand that effort to the other postsecondary institutions. My own observation is that our private institutions, in particular, really have not been very much in the forefront of these efforts. I presume that this was part of your thinking in putting together this legislation.

Do you have any observations about our efforts to encourage private institutions to take on some of these challenges?

Mr. **Bruce**. Well, the purpose is really incentive for collaboration. So if we can encourage the University of Chicago and other private universities and private colleges to participate, we would have succeeded. There's knowledge on all campuses, and unfortunately, we haven't had the participation and collaboration we need. The University of Illinois in my own State is a leader, but we could always do more to join with the other sister institutions across the State of Illinois.

Mr. **Tauke**. Have you found out in your discussions with any of the private institutions or, Dr. Crawford, any of the institutions in your system, why they might be reluctant to participate? Are there obstacles that they see that we have to overcome.

Mr. **Crawford**. I think some of them are reluctant, frankly, as are community colleges reluctant, because it's a whole new area, and they really haven't explored it, or very simply, it's not a—philosophically, it's not a matter of how they view their mission. We have that problem with some community colleges across the country.

My reaction to what you're asking is it seems to me that anything we can do and all the resources that we can possibly call upon for the purposes of economic development, everyone will ultimately benefit. If the community colleges and the independent colleges and the university in Iowa can come together arm in arm and really work together for the economic recovery of that State, then not only can that happen working jointly with others, but all of those higher education institutions in return are going to benefit. You know, it's that old philosophy, if I can use this to relate to that: If you want to succeed in retailing in a department store, you build one across the street from another successful department store.

I think, and some of my friends in the community college business disagree with this—I think that I can be—We can be most successful in the Eastern Iowa Community College District by joining arm in arm with St. Ambrose, Marycrest and Mount St. Claire, the three private institutions, one in your district, and working with them to improve them and they to improve us, and to do that in economic development.

In our district, St. Ambrose is presently involved in the economic development, and we're working with them.

Mr. **Tauke**. Is there a concern about the financial investment that has to be made in this kind of a program initially? Is that an obstacle?

Mr. **Crawford**. Yes, it is because in our district we've created what we call the Eastern Iowa Business Industry Center. As you know, it's worked with the three colleges. We've put some of our resources into that. I recently made a comment to Governor Branstead's assistant, Doug Gross, who you know quite well——

Mr. **Tauke**. An alumnus of my staff.

Mr. **Crawford**. He used to be on your staff.—that very frankly, unless we got some improved funding at the State level for Iowa's community colleges, that I might better put that funding into—move that person over and have them work for our foundation in terms of private sector funding support, because we might more directly in terms of dollars benefit.

So, yes, it is a problem.

Mr. **Tauke**. So it's that dollar trade-off.

Mr. **Crawford**. Clearly. I think, a dollar trade-off, plus frankly, some institutions, many institutions, need the incentive. I think that this is really what this project is. It provides that incentive. It provides the focus on economic development, and shows the higher education institution that it really can do that; and with that incentive, then I think they might more likely get involved.

Mr. **Ford**. Mr. Hayes.

Mr. **Hayes**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to commend my colleague, Representative Terry Bruce, for having the foresight to introduce, which he says he's going to do shortly, the National Higher Education and Economic Development Act of 1985.

I want to announce in advance my support for that piece of legislation. I think it's necessary. I think that you're somewhat mild in your approach to some of the recent statistical data that's been released by the Department of Labor in terms of the problem of unemployment. I frankly feel that the figures are being played with. It's much more serious than they've been willing to admit. I know it is in the State of Illinois, as you suggested.

There are almost 10 million people in this country that are totally out of work with no prospect for a job in the future unless the Government begins to do something about it, as you well know. I think this is a step in the right direction.

For you, Dr. Crawford, I did want to say that I admire the University of Alabama for taking the initiative to bail out that plant down in that section of our country. But being a union negotiator, I have to admit that the employees of that plant paid the greater price, based on the figures that you gave us.

You suggested that they gave up $55.20 a week, for which they recovered, I think, 1,600 bucks in the form, I guess, of a Christmas bonus. If you add the 3-year contract which they negotiated up together at that tune of $55.20 a week, that's $8,600 of which they recovered $1,600. So there's a shortfall of $7,000 for them over a 3-year period.

General Motors certainly needed no help, but they didn't lose any money at all on this transaction, and the University of Alabama, through its scholarship program, stands to gain, too. I hope some day will come when we find a way to help return the amount of sacrifice that those workers made.

Thank you very much.

Mr. **Ford**. Mr. McKernan.

Mr. **McKernan**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Crawford, just one question on your administration of JTPA. Are you the only agency in your area that implements JTPA, or do you work with a nonprofit corporation? How does that work?

Mr. **Crawford**. Well, we administer it. We're the agency in our area administering it, but that doesn't mean that we provide all the programs. We're the administrative entity, but a number of other agencies, other organizations, nonprofit groups, are involved in offering programs as well as us.

Mr. McKERNAN. Do you contract with them to offer those particular programs?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Yes.

Mr. McKERNAN. Is that something that's done fairly commonly in your State?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Yes; 8 of the 15 community college districts in our State operated in that fashion.

Mr. McKERNAN. Have you found that gives you a better way to be involved in job training in the local community?

Mr. CRAWFORD. No, frankly. In fact, it's made it sometimes more difficult for us being the administrative entity, because we work through the Private Industry Council, which is a separate entity that we work with; but not controlled by the Eastern Iowa Community College District. Frankly, we often are held up for examination far more carefully with our applications than others.

So sometimes we think perhaps we shouldn't be the administratitive entity, that perhaps we could be doing more program offering, which is our primary mission.

Mr. McKERNAN. In my State of Maine, it is that way. We have the administration done by nonprofits, although the community colleges do provide on a contractual basis a number of the programs.

Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Atkins.

Mr. ATKINS. No questions.

Mr. FORD. Thank you very much for your assistance to the committee this morning.

Now we got off track with the schedule of witnesses. I see Dr. Porter is here now, and Dr. William Harvey, who is scheduled later, is facing a time constraint.

So I would like to call both of them up at the same time. Dr. John Porter, president of Eastern Michigan University, and Dr. William Harvey, president of Hampton University.

Dr. Porter, we had you on this morning with Dr. Curry on cooperative education, title VIII, and Dr. Curry proceeded earlier because we had to change the time around for airplanes bringing other witnesses. So you can go ahead now with your presentation, if you would.

Your prepared statement will be inserted in full in the record. You may add to it, supplement it, highlight it, or comment on it in any way you think would be most illuminating to this record.

STATEMENT OF DR. JOHN PORTER, PRESIDENT, EASTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Mr. PORTER. Thank you, Congressman Ford.

I would like to introduce Ralph Porter, president of the National Commission for Cooperative Education, on my left, who I asked to join me. Certainly, I'm pleased to have Dr. Harvey join at this time.

I'd like to take a different approach from what the committee has heard this morning. I'd like to talk about reauthorization in title VIII from a personal perspective, because I believe that the test of effectiveness of any program is whether it makes a positive difference.

Cooperative education has made a positive difference at our institution, one of the larger, public, regional institutions in the country with over 20,000 students; 8 years ago, 7 years ago, we were having declining enrollments, and the enrollments had been declining since 1970. The enrollments were down to around 17,000.

We said, when I came to the university in 1979, how could we make Eastern Michigan University more attractive, more distinctive, and more prosperous? We decided that cooperative education would be the cornerstone program that would bind the corporate world and the educational institution into a richly beneficial collaborative relationship.

We thought that would make us attractive. We thought that would make us distinctive, and we thought it would make us prosperous. Let me say to the committee that we are attractive, we are distinctive, and we're prospering.

Congressman Bill Ford is the Congressman from Eastern Michigan University, and he can be proud of his institution; because our enrollment has increased every year since we established the cooperative education program.

It has helped us to provide an avenue to the corporate world for minority students, something that we hoped would take place. It's enabled minority students of our institution to acquire the kinds of experiences in the corporate world that we didn't have available before entering into this title VIII program.

We're also a first generation college. Many of our students are first generation college-going students. We're a blue-collar university in a blue-collar community, and blue-collar jobs are on the decline. This has helped us to enable those students to also acquire the cooperation experience.

So we have been just tremendously pleased that title VIII was available, and that we could participate. The value and importance of cooperative education is demonstrated by the fact that over 70 percent of all co-op students at our institution are offered permanent positions on or before graduation.

The salaries for these students are in the 15 percent higher than for those without cooperative education experience. We have sufficient evidence that each year more employers are turning to co-op as a means of hiring permanent employees.

The salaries the students earn help pay for their education, a proven factor in student retention. We've indicated that each of our six colleges must be involved in cooperative education, the arts and humanities, business, education, health and human services, science, and mathmatics, and technology; and in our College of Technology, it's required.

We also, with the help of Ralph Porter, have established in our State the Michigan Council for Cooperative Education which will enable our State to begin to expand this concept throughout the State. We think that's very important.

Finally, the continued growth of Eastern Michigan University over the past 6 years in a period of declining enrollments in the State as well as nationally, in some instances, in a time of population decreases in southeast Michigan, can in part be attributed to the tremendous success of cooperative education program at our institution.

As we do our survey of entering freshmen, many of them indicate, "we're coming to Eastern Michigan University because we know you have a cooperative education program." Cooperative education began at our institution in 1979, and is today the 15th largest program among the 157 4-year institutions in the Nation that offer cooperative education.

Our program has grown in 7 years from zero to over 900 students, and we're committed to having over 2,500 of our 10,000 returning juniors and seniors involved in cooperative education. Our long-term goal is that every student at our university who wishes to co-op will have an opportunity to co-op.

We've received tremendous support from corporations in southeastern Michigan and northern Ohio in that regard. The program has enabled us to establish a comprehensive cooperative education program, to design internal procedures that have enabled us to incorporate it into the operations of the university.

The multiyear $4,860,000 of title VIII demonstration grant funds allowed this to take place. We could not have pulled this off without the title VIII funding. So we're a success story, and my testimony to you this morning, to say that for other universities that are interested in being responsive to their students who believe that they have unique student bodies, can do what we did. And I can assure them it will make a difference.

Title VIII funds provided credibility for the involvement by our academic departments. It was one way for us to get the faculty committed and concerned. It provided a framework which enabled many faculty members who felt practical work experiences related to students' area were desirable, to acquire the resources to work with students in a structured manner with approval and monitoring by the faculty, a faculty that in 1978 would have rejected this idea out of hand.

This idea has become stronger and more widely embraced as the three year funding was sustained.

Title VIII funds allowed for a centralized professional staff to administer the program.

Title VIII funds allowed for contact and interaction with co-op professionals from other colleges and universities.

Title VIII funds enabled the EMU faculty to visit with faculties at other institutions involved in co-op, at Northeastern and throughout the country.

Title VIII funds allowed us to do extensive internal and external marketing, which is absolutely essential to the success of the program.

Title VIII funds made it possible for on-site visits by professional staff and faculty to become a reality.

Finally, title VIII funds allowed us to provide incentives for faculty involvement, an extremely important element in building a cooperative education program from ground up.

In summary, the title VIII funds made it possible for Eastern Michigan University, the home of Congressman Ford, to develop a comprehensive cooperative education program and to fully integrate it into the university system doing business.

It has made us unique. It has made us attractive. The program is now completely supported by university general funds.

Because of our experience with title VIII funding, we believe it is critical that authorization of title VIII be approved by Congress. I support what the Senator had to say and what the Congressman had to say before you this morning.

I'm certain, as I appear before you this morning, that we could not have convinced our university community to pick up the Federal tab from the general fund as a good investment at the time that we sought title VIII funding in 1980. Authorizing the funding, even without the regular budget for this year, 1985-86, of over a half million dollars became a routine action of our board of regents without a single question being raised.

This, to me, is the acid test of the success of the program at our university, and certainly a program which we will continue to support with general fund money, a program that's now become an integral part of our university.

It has responded to every expectation that we set forth 7 years ago. As president of Eastern Michigan University, I'm pleased to appear before you to say that our student body, our faculty, our community and the corporations are all very supportive; and it's a program in which you, Congressman Ford, can be very proud.

[The prepared statement of Dr. John Porter follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. JOHN PORTER, PRESIDENT, EASTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

As President of a regional higher education institution of over 20,000 students, I have identified four critical support systems upon which the future success and distinction of the University rests. One of those four support systems is cooperative education, including increased involvement with the corporate sector. Cooperative education is the cornerstone program that binds the corporate world and the educational institution into a mutually beneficial collaborative relationship.

The value and importance of cooperative education is demonstrated by the fact that 70% of all co-op students are offered permanent positions on or before graduation.

Salary offers to these students are 15% higher than for those without cooperative education experience. We have sufficient evidence that each year more employers are turning to co-op as a means of hiring permanent employees. The salaries students earn help pay for their education, a proven factor in student retention.

The benefits of cooperative education were also recognized by the Ad Council, which selected Cooperative Education as a subject of its 1985 National Ad Campaign.

Finally, the continued growth of Eastern Michigan University over the past six years, in a period of declining enrollments in-state as well as nationally, and in a time of population decreases in Southeast Michigan can, in part, be attributed to the tremendous success of the Cooperative Education Program at our institution.

Cooperative Education began at Eastern Michigan University in 1978 and is today the 15th largest program among the 157 four year institutions in the nation that offer cooperative education. Our program has grown in seven years from zero to 900 co-op placements. When we include practice teaching and the related health field internships, we are confident that 2,500 of our 10,000 plus juniors and seniors will be involved in on-the-job experiences directly related to their field of study at the University. This phenomenal growth would not have been possible without Title VIII funding, a brief four years ago.

Establishment of (1) a comprehensive cooperative education program, (2) the design of internal procedures, (3) the development of an employer base, and (4) the creation of acceptance within the academic departments takes time and resources. The multi-year $860,000 federally-funded Demonstration Grant allowed this to take place at EMU even during a period of severe economic recession in our area of the state.

Title VIII funds provided credibility for involvement by academic departments. It provided the framework which enabled many faculty members who felt practical work experience related to the students' area of study were desirable to acquire the resources to work with students in a structured manner, with approval and monitoring by faculty. This idea became stronger and more widely embraced as the three-year funding was sustained.

Title VIII funds allowed for a centralized professional staff to administer the program and to develop planned expansion into all academic areas in a systematic manner.

Title VIII funds allowed for contact and interaction with co-op professionals from other colleges and universities through conferences, workshops and sharing sessions.

Title VIII funds enabled EMU faculty to visit with faculty at other institutions involved in cooperative education and exchange ideas for improvement.

Title VIII funds allowed us to do the extensive internal and external marketing which is absolutely essential to the success of the program. This was especially critical early in the Grant when the Michigan economy was depressed.

Title VIII funds made it possible for on-site visits by professional staff and faculty to become a reality. This served to cement relationships between the business community and the University. Without this kind of interplay, progress in cooperative education would have been minimal.

Finally, Title VIII funds allowed us to provide incentives for faculty involvement—an extremely important element in building a cooperative education program from the ground up—and in developing and maintaining the academic component of the program.

In summary, the Title VIII funds made it possible for Eastern Michigan University to develop a comprehensive cooperative education program and to fully integrate it into the University system of doing business. The program is now completely supported by University funds.

Because of our experience with Title VIII funding, we believe it is critical that reauthorization of Title VIII be approved by Congress.

I am certain that we could not have convinced the University community that $500,000 from the general fund was a good investment at the time that we sought Title VIII funding in 1980.

Authorizing the funding, even without the regular budget being adopted for 1985-86, became a routine action by the Board of Regents without a single question being raised.

This is the acid test of the success of the program at our University.

Mr. FORD. Thank you. Mr. Porter, did you want to make a comment?

Mr. RALPH PORTER. No, sir. I'll be happy to answer any questions.

Mr. FORD. Dr. Porter, I'm very pleased to hear you give a statistical report on this. I've talked with a number of your people out there about progress of co-op education, and it's becoming better known throughout southeastern Michigan all the time.

Could you give me quickly an example of some of the kinds of companies that you have been able to work arrangements out with?

Dr. PORTER. I'd be pleased to send you a list, but we have students in all of the major automotive plants. We have students in plastics and technology plants in Milan and Saline. We have students in high technology plants, EDS and other firms. We have students in Libby-Owens in Toledo. We have students in all of the major accounting firms in southeastern Michigan, Coopers Lybrand, Andersen, Arthur Young. We have students—and what I like about the program and its rapid growth is that we're able now to place students in small firms.

At one point in time the assumption was that all of the cooping would be in big firms, but we're getting a tremendous response from small entrepreneurships, and the firms—well over 500 at this point—are joining in setting aside the necessary funding and support for students to coop from Eastern Michigan University.

Mr. **Ford**. Thank you very much. Mr. Hayes.

Mr. **Hayes**. Just one question. I was very interested in a statement of the chancellor from Eastern Michigan University. What is the total enrollment at the university?

Dr. **Porter**. We have 20,500 students, about 2,000 minorities, but about seventeen percent of the minority students are involved in coop. That number is continuing to increase.

Mr. **Hayes**. Assuming that the worst happened, that the funds for title VIII—as we make efforts to reduce this huge $200 billion a year annual deficit and these funds are cut off, what would happen to this program?

Dr. **Porter**. Well, I'm pleased to say that, as you well know, Congressman Hayes, and certainly, Congressman Ford does, that we started this program during Michigan's depression; and I use the word depression literally. Most of the people, including Ralph Porter and the people at the National Commission said you're going to have a tough time pulling this off, because you're not going to get any response.

Our program continued to grow during the period of time, a 4-year period when the State of Michigan did not increase the State appropriations to our institution one dollar. We have gone through that, and we do not now have any Federal support for this program. We have taken the program over. We have invested the necessary money in running it at a higher level than it was when we had Federal money.

So if the Federal Government were to take some action and reduce the program, it wouldn't affect our commitment whatsoever. But I'm here to say that I believe the Congress should reauthorize title VIII, and it should be continued so that other institutions can have the benefit that we had at Eastern.

Mr. **Hayes**. You mentioned a figure of a $860,000 grant, I think.

Dr. **Porter**. Yes. That $860,000 grant was allocated to us in 1980, and that money ran out in 1984.

Mr. **Ralph Porter**. Mr. Hayes, may I supplement the question. The Congress has appropriated in the order of $190 million in title VIII funds since 1970, which resulted in about 800 new programs coming on stream. Now your question was: What would happen to many of these programs if Federal funding were to not be renewed?

Of those programs 80 percent remain in their incipient stages for the very reasons that Dr. Porter has articulated why his program was successful with a large grant. There are now comprehensive large grants that are being given to fewer institutions, but helping to make their programs successful.

The Federal strategy earlier on was to give out many small grants, $40,000 to $50,000 grants to the institutions. As a result, the programs did not become institutionalized. You would, therefore, I think, have a significant defection of programs at a time when budget constraints with the colleges if the Federal funds were cut off. I would suggest to you that this would be somewhat tragic since, through the efforts of the business community largely, we now will have mounted, it was mentioned this morning by Dr.

Curry, a national advertising campaign by the Ad Council in New York which will amount to somewhere close to $35 million worth of advertising on behalf of cooperative education.

So there's going to be significant heightening of awareness. The blunting of growth of co-op in the past has been due to lack of knowledge about it. We now are going to have knowledge about it. Those programs that are on stream are going to continue to need help to break through that what we call margin of—critical margin of economy; economies of scale is the term I was looking for. Forgive me. We do need to continue the authorization so that programs that are already in existence continue to seek larger funds to break through that economic plane, if you will; and the knowledge will be out there, I think, and the desire on the parts of students and parents and employers to have the program expand, and to emulate the success of Eastern Michigan that has gone over these last 4 years due to title VIII.

Mr. HAYES. Thank you very much. I do want to commend Dr. Porter for the success they've had in Eastern Michigan University. I believe that main base is in Ypsilanti or somewhere around that area, isn't it?

Dr. PORTER. That's right.

Mr. HAYES. I hope you have continued success. I have some relatives that have gone to that university. Thank you very much.

Mr. FORD. I'm going to check on those relatives before the election, Charles. Thank you very much, Dr. Porter. I would like to state for the record that you have contributed more time and effort to this reauthorization than any other single college or university president in the country, and I'm particularly pleased to have that happen when I now have the pleasure of actually having the university campus located within my district, thanks to the new lines that they drew a few years ago.

I think, as a matter of fact, we have some kind of a pending arrangement that's being worked out with your coop people for my Ypsilanti office. I don't know how far that has progressed, to have someone work for Dee Dogan over there, but I want to let you know.

I was talking to a couple of your people yesterday for a little while, and I told them that you were a regular star during these proceedings, and that you've been watching it very closely from the very beginning. They wanted me to reassure them that eastern Michigan was going to be properly taken care of, of course; but I told them that you had a reputation that went far beyond Ypsilanti that we we're taking advantage of.

We appreciate having you as a resource and as a person who has put this extra effort into our efforts in reauthorization.

Dr. PORTER. Thank you, Congressman.

Mr. FORD. I want to thank you again.

Dr. Harvey, our colleague, Mr. Dymally, wanted to be here to welcome you this morning, and he's been detained. I guess he's trying to get back here from someplace. Oh, he's in India? Well, he's a little remote from the committee at the moment.

He wanted me, on his behalf, to welcome you here and extend his apologies for not being able to be here himself to welcome you in person. He gave me a formal statement on not only an introduction to you but on the legislative history or, if you will, lack of legislative history of the program that you're going to talk about.

Without objection, I'll place in the record at this point the remarks of Mr. Dymally.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Mervyn M. Dymally follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. MERVYN M. DYMALLY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

MINORITY INSTITUTIONS SCIENCE IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM—A BACKGROUND PAPER

The Minority Institutions Science Improvement Program (MISIP) is designed to give minority students (American Indian, Alaskan Native, Black, Hispanic, Pacific Islander or other ethnic group underrepresented in science and engineering) greater access to science and engineering careers via government support.

Legislative background

Authority for the creation of MISIP is found in Section 3(a)(1) of the National Science Foundation Act of 1950. However, the program did not come into existence until April of 1971, when the National Science Board officially sanctioned it as part of the College Science Improvement Program (COSIP). The program was subsequently approved by Congress as a line item in appropriations and funded at $5.0 million for FY 1972.

The program originally targeted black colleges, who enrolled 55% of the minority student population in 1970. These colleges are poorly financed and need help in all areas, especially engineering and sciences where minorities are poorly represented in the professional world. At its onset, the object of this program was not only to increase the number of minorities pursuing these careers but also to improve science instruction and faculty participation in scientific research.

The National Science Foundation's (NSF) Budget Submission to Congress for FY 1972 described the basis for the program as follows:

This program will be part of the overall Federal program to assist predominantly black institutions.

Students served by these institutions represent a large untapped reservoir of talent with respect to the scientific professions.

Many (students) come from economically disadvantaged families, have experienced the hardships of living in a deprived environment and have received inadequate academic preparation. For these reasons they are often poorly prepared for the experience of higher education.

With improved science education (some of it preprofessional), graduates will be better informed citizens and will be able to make a greater contribution to Society's pool of trained manpower.

It (the program) will significantly improve and enhance the science education programs of these institutions and expand the career options available to students attending these institutions.

This program will be open to all predominantly black academic institutions (except two year colleges) with a potential for improving their science programs.

The program will provide selective support, based on opportunity of greatest impact, for a variety of science oriented projects designed to develop better trained faculty, improved course materials and equipment, and other items required to upgrade the science activities of these institutions.

Some adversaries questioned the program in its targeting on the basis of ethnic background and that that exclusion may hinder equal access to federal funds. However, through Congressional hearings, this was determined not to be the case. The proponents of the program prevailed and COSIP was first funded for $5.0 million in FY 1972.

The MISIP objectives have remained constant throughout its history, but the means to achieve its goals have expanded since its commencement in 1972. For instance, by 1975, the guidelines were revised to include all 2- and 4-year colleges with a majority of minority students instead of just those that are historically black. And in order to give greater flexibility in achieving the goals, grant categories were broadened from Institutional grants at the beginning, to include Cooperative grants in FY 1974; Design projects in FY 1977; and Special projects in FY 1979.

When the formation of the Department of Education was approved, the transfer of MISIP was of concern to the science and education communities alike. Many opposed the transfer of education programs with NSF for fear that science education would no longer coordinate well with research activities. Charles Saunders, on behalf of the American Council on Education (ACE), stated during Senate hearings on February 6, 7, and 8, 1979:

> A staff in a separate department, isolated from the Foundation's research environment, in our view, would neither bring the same perceptions and experiment to those programs nor attract the quality of experienced individuals drawn to them by the unique research environment of the Foundation.

On the other hand, the Office of Science and Technological Policy (OSTP) even though they agreed that NSF should still have a hand in science education programs, favored the transfer:

> Clearly, science programs with a Department having so many elements needed to be carefully organized. A broadly based Department would facilitate the type of functional organization that is desirable. This Office will participate in planning and effecting transfers of science education programs to assure an orderly transition.

OSTP believed that the Department of Education could accomplish the goals in mind for the various science improvement programs.

In general, OSTP's main concern was in implementing science education with greater concentration in the education aspect. This was especially true where minorities and women were involved. Transferring the science education division of the National Science Foundation, OSTP believed, would improve knowledge dissemination, new educational technologies and teacher and special assistance programs.

In order to resolve these conflicting positions, a compromise was reached. The science education programs were transferred to the Department of Education but NSF retained its broad statutory authority for support of science education. Therefore, if any of the programs were poorly handled, this statutory authority would allow the program(s) to be retransferred with relative ease. MISIP was officially transferred to the Department of Education by Section 304(a)(1) of the Department of Education Organization Act of 1980. This transfer did not include a transfer of funding authority. Therefore, Section 406A(2) of the General Education Provision Act (GEPA) was used to authorize $5.0 million in appropriations for MISIP for FY 1981.

Funding for MISIP remained at $5.0 million from FY 1972 through FY 1981. In FY 1982 it was reduced to $4.8 million and remained at that level until Congress raised it back to %5.0 million in FY 1985. The chart below shows the amount and number of grants given for FY 1984 and FY 1985. However, these figures are in current dollars (not adjusted for inflation). Therefore, the funding levels have been substantially reduced in real dollars. In other words, it would take approximately $12.4 million to sustain the FY 1972 programs in 1984. Even with this reduction in buying power, many advancements have been made in reaching the goals of improving predominantly minority institutions in science education, research, and competitive status for other science education grants not specifically intended for minority based programs.

MISIP FUNDING BY PROJECT TYPE

Project type	Fiscal year 1984	Fiscal year 1985
Institutional:		
Number of projects	16	115
Average award	$231,438	$216,667
Total funds	$3,703,000	$3,250,000
Design:		
Number of projects	---	3
Average award	---	$16,667
Total funds	---	$50,000
Special:		
Number of projects	20	18
Average award	$54,850	$55,556
Total funds	$1,097,000	$1,000,000
Cooperative:		
Number of projects	---	2
Average award	---	$350,000
Total funds	---	$700,000
Total:		
Number of projects	36	38
Average award	$133,333	$131,579

MISIP FUNDING BY PROJECT TYPE—Continued

Project type	Fiscal year 1984	Fiscal year 1985
Total funds	$4,800,000	$5,000,000

Source Department of Education Justifications of Appropriation Estimates for Committees on Appropriations FY 1986, p 141

Current program

MISIP give grants to institutions where minorities make up at least 50% of the student body. Generally this includes 2- and 4-year accredited institutions. However, non-profit scientific organizations, societies and all accredited colleges and universities can be eligible for MISIP grants if they provide in-service training for faculty from eligible minority institutions. These grants are used to advance their science education in one or more areas.

Allowable uses of the grants include:

1. improving the quality of preparation of undergraduate students for graduate work or careers in science;
2. improving access of undergraduate minority students to careers in sciences, mathematics and engineering;
3. improving the access for pre-college minority students to careers in science and engineering through community outreach programs conducted through eligible minority colleges and universities;
4. improving the capability of minority institutions for self assessment, management and evaluation of their science programs and dissemination of their results; and
5. improving the existing capability of minority institutions in the areas of planning and implementation of science programs, so that they will achieve parity to compete more effectively in assistance programs not specifically intended for minority groups or institutions.

To meet these objectives, the Secretary of Education awards four different types of grants: Institutional, Cooperative, Design projects, and Special projects. Given below is the intended uses and maximum funding levels for FY 1985 for each of the four categories.

Institutional grants, given to individual minority institutions, enable grantees to prepare minority students for careers in science through a comprehensive science improvement plan. For FY 1985 funding, the maximum individual Institutional project grant is $300,000 for 36 months.

Cooperative grants, targeted at groups of non-profit, accredited colleges and universities, help institutions join forces to succeed in improving science education coincidental with the goals of the institutional grant. The maximum grant in FY 1985 is $500,000 for each 36 month project.

Design projects, aimed at institutions that lack planning capabilities, aid in long-range development of science education including training personnel and developing management and evaluation systems. In FY 1985, $20,000 is the maximum given individual 12 month projects.

Special projects, given to not only eligible minority institutions but also to outside institutions providing needed services to eligible minority institutions, look to improve science and engineering training or research potentiality. Among the activities authorized for funding are seminars, workshops, conferences, faculty training, research, visiting scientist programs, preparation of science learning activities beyond those usually available to minority undergraduates, precollege science activities, and other similar activities designed to reduce barriers to minority students' entry into sciences. For FY 1985, the maximum individual Special project grant is $150,000 for 24 months.

Prospective recipients of these awards must submit an application which includes, among other things, a narrative explaining the intended uses of the funds and providing and overview on the proposed project. This part of the application contains seven areas in which the institution is judged. They include:

1. *Backround*—specific problem being addressed;
2. *Methods, Materials and Procedures*—activities, instruments, techniques, and statistical analysis being used, as well as, key project personnel and consultants;
3. *Objectives*—as related to MISIP grants;
4. *Evaluation Plan*—determination of the degree of accomplished objectives;

5. *Expected Outcomes and Dissemination Plans*—derivation of results and their distributions;

6. *Scientific and Educational Value of Proposed Project*—relationship to present science education and potentiality to future contributions; and

7. *Institutional Support of the Project*—statement of endorsement and contribution to institutional goals from the chief executive.

Other criteria used for the selection process include: description of the institution and a summary of the objectives; curriculum biographies of key personnel and consultants; and a summary of any previous science education awards. Through this selection process, the Secretary of Education awards grants according to the limitations for the various types of projects to institutions eligible for these grants.

The program objectives originally devised by the National Science Foundation were expanded into specific types of programs created by individual colleges and universities receiving grants. These include: Outreach programs, Instructional Improvement, and Enrichment and/or Remediation.

Outreach programs encourage minority students to enter a science or engineering curriculum. Since role models are few, many minority students fail to consider these fields. Unlike some of the other specific programs, the Outreach programs are largely an after effect and many times MISIP funds do not finance the program. After the grantee receives funding for a program and that program is successfully completed, the college that establishes a self-supporting system expands the system through the Outreach program. The Outreach program involves high school students and teachers in better preparation for science education at postsecondary institutions through workshops and seminars.

Instructional Improvement is devoted to course development and laboratory development and improvement. When an institution received more than one grant, the first was used to upgrade the facilities and the succeeding grants were used to develop computer centers and to expand the science curriculum. Results from using funds for both laboratory equipment and course development were the most significant. Less decisive results were seen when funds were used for either laboratory equipment or curriculum development.

Enrichment and/or Remediation projects, help prepare college and high school students complete college-level courses in science and mathematics. Many different approaches are used to accomplish this goal. Computers help in remedial assistance at Learning Centers using audio-visual aids to promote and enrich students' interest in given fields. To date, the Centers are not well developed because of poor integration of course material into the computer remediation system. Other approaches under the enrichment and remediation programs are student-to-student tutorials and special experimental projects carried out under faculty supervision. The outcome of these projects is uncertain, but apparently they are working since the schools are continuing and broadening their use.

Mr. FORD. You may proceed. Your prepared statement will be inserted into the record at this point, and you can add to it, supplement it, comment on it in any way you feel would be most illuminating to the record.

Mr. HARVEY. Thank you very much.

Chairman Ford, members of the committee, it's a distinct pleasure for me to address this committee's hearing on the status of education in science, mathematics, and technology for minority students. It's necessary to realize at the onset the grave dimensions of this problem, if actions are to be taken swiftly and effectively to confront it.

In 1984 only 6.6 percent of the Nation's freshman students—and that's all of the Nation's freshman students—indicated that they had an interest in a career in science. This figure represents a significant decline since 1975. Against this national backdrop of declining interest in science careers, it is not surprising, as the National Science Foundation found, that minority students in particular are conspicuously absent in careers in science and math.

Blacks make up actually only 2 percent of the work force. Suffice it to say that we as a nation, Mr. Chairman, can ill afford to ignore the magnitude of this problem.

As this committee, and indeed this administration, consider appropriations for scientific research and training, they must be mindful of the fact that America can only maintain its important, although very, very fragile, competitive edge if it unhesitatingly provide the resources to identify and to develop those individuals who possess the capabilities for and the interest in these critical disciplines.

If America is to perform and to compete at peak capacity, it simply cannot ignore the largely untapped pool of minority students who remain unexposed to and untrained in vital areas that constitute one of this nation's highest priorities.

The young men and women who comprise this untapped national resource must be prepared in learning environments that encourage and reward scientific research, creativity, inquiry, and, most importantly, hard work. It is projected that by the year 2020, 40 percent of the American populace will be people whom we currently classify as minorities. Where will the best scientific and mathematical minds of this subpopulation be trained? Where are the well equipped spawning grounds of scientific inquiry that will justly welcome them and challenge them on to greater intellectual heights?

I am confident that some of the historical black colleges and universities are and can be those training grounds of academic excellence. Yet we are not so quixotic as to imagine that this possibility can become a reality without adequate funding from a variety of sources.

It is against this backdrop that I am proposing the establishment of several programs which will serve to attract minority students and to enhance the sciences for literally a generation of minority students. These activities include the continuation of existing programs of Minority Institutional Science Improvement Program, the initiation of minority science incentive grants, the establishment of three Centers for Excellence in Science, and the establishment of intensive science studies programs designed to increase the pool of science and math teachers in the junior and senior high schools.

It is my judgment that a firm legislative base should be developed for all of these programs; and if that is the case, it can be accomplished under the programmatic umbrella of MISIP. I suggest MISIP as the vehicle, because it has a defined comprehensive mission in science and a targeted constituency. It is a prestigious and uniquely qualified program which requires direct involvement of staff who have training and expertise in science as well as familiarity with the particular problems of minority students.

Now for my recommendations.

The most pressing need that I see in the minority science arena today is the lack of a significant number of minority persons in the talent pool. Not only do we need more people for the obvious benefits derived from teaching, research, and guidance, but also for the very important role model and mentoring that the training of these prospective young people need.

It is interesting to note that in a 1977 study of American Nobel Prize winners in science and math, it was found that the one constant that they all shared was the existence of a mentor to guide them and to encourage them throughout their training and professional pursuits.

Before this type of successful mentoring can take place, there must be a significant increase in the number of minority math and science teachers who would serve as positive role models for these aspiring students. To combat this problem, I recommend the establishment of 1,000 minority science incentive grants per year for minority students who desire to enroll in teacher preparation programs of math or science. These awards could be allocated on a graduated scale of up to, say, $2,500 per year, depending on the cost of the particular college or university.

Under the terms of these programs, the graduating high school seniors would be provided these annual, renewable stipends. If they continued in the program and graduated, then the recipients may opt for paying it back through the Internal Revenue Service, if at all possible.

Through this mechanism, we can create a viable new wave of academic mentors and role models for succeeding generations.

My second recommendation calls for the establishment at historically black colleges of three Centers for Excellence in Science over the next 3 years, with the establishment of one per year. Each center would concentrate on a different scientific arena. There would be a center for marine and environmental science, a biomedical research center, and an engineering and space center.

Each center would be required to conduct meaningful research, to offer a bachelor's and master's degree program, in collaboration with a particular academic department, provide cooperative outreach relationships with other entities in the area, identify 20 to 25 high schools in a 4- or 5-State region, and to develop models and conduct activities designed to strengthen the science programs at these institutions.

Such centers could have a distinct impact on solving some of this Nation's most pressing needs and problems. The Center for Marine and Environmental Science would concentrate on matters involving fisheries, pollution problems, management of shorelines, deep sea mining, atmospheric monitoring and control, and the like.

The Engineering and Space Center would be involved in computer-based scientific research involving space and weapons systems, support systems for our space needs, laser beam activities, and other such items such as fuel combustion.

The Biomedical Research Center would primarily be involved in the study of disease with a particular emphasis on contributions that could be made from the standpoint of genetics, biochemistry, and related disciplines.

My third recommendation is to establish 10 intensive science studies programs on minority campuses for a period of 10 years. To create interest, to encourage pursuit, and to enable success, programs must be initiated that provide students the environment that nurtures the curious mind, provide meaningful experiences, builds self-confidence, and reinforces the fact that they will have opportunities to pursue and to excel.

It is with this in mind that I recommend one aspect of the intensive scientific studies program should be geared to post-seventh, eighth, and ninth grade students, to have institutes on black college campuses. These young, budding scientists would be invited to each of the 10 locations to engage in lectures, seminars, and hands-on learning experiences which would further develop their scientific potential.

The second component of the proposed intensive scientific studies program would be programming to retrain and upgrade the skills of science and mathematics teachers. This program would consist of 1 or 2 years of graduate study leading to a master's degree, which would either prepare nonscience and mathematics instructors to cross over to teaching in these disciplines and upgrade the skills of current science and mathematics teachers through curricula focusing on newly developed and state-of-the-art instructional methods.

Mr. Chairman, in summary I am proposing that in the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act the Congress provide a major boost to scientific training for minority students over a 5- to 10-year period.

My recommendations would affect junior and senior high school students, undergraduates, and master's level professionals. Such legislation, accompanied by funding authorization, would positively impact a generation of minority students as they worked with those from the majority community to continue the solid foundation that is so necessary for our future economic and security needs.

Without science and technology, we would soon become a second-rate nation. Utilizing the talents of all of our citizenry would provide productive vehicles for our continued, competitive edge.

In closing I would like to quote what I think is an appropriate remark from the testimony of Dr. Keyworth, Science Adviser to the President, who appeared before this House committee last February. He said:

> Our leadership in science is fragile, extremely fragile. That should concern us deeply, because science plays the same role for technology as a foundation does for a house. Neither structure nor modern industries can exist without those bases of support. And today depend—far more than most people realize—on our preeminence in science to enable us to exploit technology and maintain our economic and national security.

I say to you, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that we must utilize the talens and energies of all of our citizens. The times demand it; and the nation needs it.

This concludes my prepared remarks, Mr. Chairman. I would be pleased to respond to questions from you or Mr. Hayes.

[The prepared statement of Dr. William R. Harvey follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. WILLIAM R. HARVEY PRESIDENT, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY, HAMPTON, VA

It is a distinct pleasure for me to address this committee's hearings on the status of Education in Science, Mathematics and Technology for minority citizens. I want to take this opportunity to highlight some of the challenges and questions posed by Educators and Practitioners in Science and Mathematics who have confronted this issue on a regular basis. In so doing, my efforts will be to address the problem of the underrepresentation of minority students in these disciplines and to discuss some of the practical ramifications, particularly as they affect the economic growth and stability of our Nation.

It is necessary to realize at the outset, the grave dimensions of this problem, if actions are to be taken swiftly and effectively to confront it. In 1984, only 6.6% of the Nation's freshman students indicated that they intended to pursue careers in Science. This figure represents a significant decline since 1975. Against this national backdrop of declining interest in science careers, it is not surprising to find, as the National Science Foundation reported, that minority students in particular are conspicuously absent in careers in science and mathematics. This 1982 report revealed that individuals classified as minorities made up approximately 5.1 percent of the work force of employed scientists and engineers, with blacks representing only 2.0 percent of the work force. I hasten to add that a wide range of professionals including engineers, mathematical scientists, computer specialists, life scientists, and physical scientists were included in this analysis. A similar study released in 1984 by the American Council of Education notes no appreciable change in minority representation in Science careers. Suffice it to say at this point that we, as a nation, can ill afford to ignore the magnitude of the problem.

Currently, America is involved in an international competition for technological leadership. It is doubtful that today's average citizen and today's college students realize how the Nation's economic progress and our national security are related to this specialized leadership. Moreover, American business and industry are relentlessly challenged by other nations who fully acknowledge the importance of a strong science and technology base to yield the collective competence and talent needed to compete at the international level.

Mr. Chairman, as this committee and this administration consider appropriations for scientific research and training, they must be mindful of the fact that America can only maintain its important, albeit fragile, competitive edge if it unhesitatingly provides the resources to identify and to develop those individuals who possess the capabilities for and the interest in these critical disciplines. If America is to perform and to compete at peak capacity, it simply cannot ignore the largely untapped pool of minority students who remain unexposed to and untrained in vital areas that constitute one of its foremost priorities. The young men and women who comprise this untapped national resource must be prepared in learning environments that encourage and reward scientific research, creativity and, most importantly, hard work. Yet, I shudder to imagine how many career aspirations are short-circuited by underpreparation at the pre-collegiate level and by the uncertainty regarding prospects of support for research. I need not articulate for this body the damages brought about by stop-and-go funding and by budgetary cutbacks that, even today, threaten to roll back the educational progress that has been realized in previous years.

I would argue that the Federal government and the American people at large have a clear and certain stake in the education of its minority students. I strongly support the wisdom of investing in this area, if for no other reason than the enormous and productive "human capital" it will yield. It is projected that by the year 2020, 40% of the American populace will be people whom we currently classify as "minorities". Where will the best scientific and mathematical minds of this subpopulation be trained? Where are the well-equipped spawning grounds of scientific inquiry that will justly welcome them and challenge them on to greater intellectual heights? I am confident that some of the Historically Black Colleges are and can be those training grounds of academic excellence. Yet, we are not so quixotic as to imagine that this possibility can become a reality without adequate funding from a variety of sources.

It is against this backdrop that I am proposing the establishment of several programs which will serve to attract minority students and to enhance the sciences for a *generation* of minority students. Some of the suggestions encompass tried and true methods, while others are innovations. All involve the tenants of high quality, competitiveness, and achievement. I further propose that the funding for these programs should be made available, on a competitive basis, to the traditional Black Colleges as they are poised with the expertise, location and historical commitment to accomplish the objectives competently and efficiently. These activities include the continuation of existing programs of the Minority Institutional Science Improvement Program (MISIP), the initiation of Minority Science Incentive Grants (MSIG), establishment of three Centers for Excellence in Science (CES), and the establishment of Intensive Science Studies Programs (ISSP) designed to increase the pool of science and math teachers in the junior and senior high schools.

It is my judgment that if a firm legislative base were developed, all of these programs can be accomplished under the programmatic umbrella of the Minority Institutional Science Improvement Program (MISIP). I suggest MISIP as the vehicle because it has a defined comprehensive mission in science and a targeted constituency. It is a prestigious and uniquely designed program which requires direct involvement of staff who have training and expertise in science as well as familiarity with the particular needs of minority students. Currently, MISIP does not have a statutory base other than the National Science Foundation Act of 1950. The appropriations authorization was transferred to the Department of Education by Section 304 of the Department of Education Organization Act. Enabling legislation incorporating these recommendations would be tremendously important.

The most pressing need that I see in the minority science arena today is the lack of a significant number of minority persons in the talent pool. Not only do we need more people for the obvious benefits derived from teaching, research, and guidance, but also for the very important role modeling and mentoring in the training of prospective young scientists.

It is interesting to note that in a study of American Nobel Prize winners in science and mathematics, Zuckerman (in 1977) found that the one constant they all shared was the existence of a mentor to guide them and to encourage them throughout their training and professional pursuits. This salient research suggests a need for dynamic programming which would match prospective science and math majors with practicing scientists and mathematicians. Such mentoring should extend as far down as resources allow, but certainly into the middle school range.

Before this type of successful mentoring can take place, there must be a significant increase in the number of minority math and science teachers who would serve as positive role models for these aspiring students. To combat this problem, I recommend the establishment of 1,000 Minority Science Incentive Grants (MSIG) per year for minority students who desire to enroll in teacher preparation programs of math or science. These awards could be allocated on a graduated scale up to say $2,500 per year, depending on the cost of the particular college or university.

Under the terms of this program, graduating high school seniors would be provided annual and renewable stipends or tuition credits to support their college education. For each year of funding received, these students would be required to teach two years of mathematics (or science) in a junior or senior high school serving a minority community. If, upon graduation from college, these recipients opt for alternative (nonteaching) careers, all received funds would be repayable and collectible through the Internal Revenue Service, if necessary.

Here again, the objective for such a program is to provide suitable inducements for prospective teachers to enter the field. While funding for such a program may not be necessary or prudent over an extended period of time, a short-range funding commitment of 10 years would provide immediate benefits with probable long-term consequences. Through this mechanism we can create a veritable new wave of academic mentors and role models for succeeding generations. This modest investment will yield long-range results which could elevate the quality and quantity of mathematics and science education (for this underserved population) for years to come.

My second recommendation calls for the establishment, at Historically Black Colleges, of three Centers for Excellence in Science (CES) over the next three years, with the establishment of one per year. Each center would concentrate on a different scientific area. There would be a Center for Marine and Environmental Science, a Biomedical Research Center, and an Engineering and Space Center. Each center would be required to conduct meaningful research, to offer a bachelor and master's degree program, in collaboration with an academic department within the college or university and to provide cooperative outreach relationships with other entities in the area of the particular center. As an example, Hampton University is within 5 minutes of NASA's Langley Research Center, the new Continuous Electron Beam Accelerator Facility (CEBAF), and numerous military bases and federal installations. Another component of each center would be to identify 20-25 high school in a four or five state region, and to develop models and conduct activities designed to strengthen the science programs at these institutions.

Such centers could have a distinct impact on solving some of this nation's most pressing needs and problems. The Center for Marine and Environmental Science would concentrate on matters involving fisheries, pollution problems, management of shore lines, deep sea mining, atmospheric monitoring and control, and the like. The Engineering and Space Center would be involved in computer-based scientific research involving space and weapons systems, support systems for our space needs, laser beam activities and other such items as fuel combustion problems. The Biomedical Research Center would primarily be involved in the study of disease, with a particular emphasis on contributions that could be made from the standpoint of genetics, biochemistry and related disciplines. Activities in the biomedical center will reinforce existing programs such as the Minority Access to Research Careers Undergraduate Honors Program (MARC) and the Minority Biomedical Research Support Program (MBRS). Combined with a nearby Veterans Administration Medical Center and a teaching hospital in a nearby medical school, some extremely important research activities would take place.

My third recommendation is to establish ten Intensive Scientific Studies Programs (ISSP) on minority campuses for a period of ten years. To create interest, to encourage pursuit, and to enable success, programs must be initiated that provide students the environment that nurtures the curious mind, provides meaningful experiences, builds self-confidence and reinforces the fact that they will have opportunities to pursue and to excel.

To nurture these curious minds, students must be exposed to scientific phenomenon at early ages and must have educational experiences that are meaningful and real. They must be given the opportunity to build functional models of the phenomena of science. Such activities will have the effect of sustaining student interest.

It is with this in mind that I recommend that one component of the intensive scientific studies program should be geared to post-seventh, eighth and ninth grades summer institutes, on Black college campuses. These young budding scientists would be invited to each of the ten locations to engage in lectures, seminars, and hands-on learning experiences which will further develop their scientific potential. I can envision a program whereby each of the students would be required to take one lecture course during the summer, a mandatory tutorial in the scientific field of their choosing, and to develop one major scientific project with the help of tutors, mentors, teachers, and others. In lieu of summer earnings, seventh graders could be provided $100, eighth graders--$200, and ninth graders—$300. All other room, board and tuition would be provided in the grant.

The second component of the proposed intensive scientific studies program would be programming to retrain and upgrade the skills of science and mathematics teachers. This program would consist of a one or two-year graduate course of study leading to a master's degree, which would either prepare nonscience and mathematics instructors to "cross-over" to teaching in these disciplines and upgrade the skills of current science and mathematics teachers through curricular focusing on newly developed and "state of the art" instructional methods. Funding for this thrust would support tuition grants for these graduate level students.

the objective of this component would be to significantly increase the number of proficient math and science teachers who serve in the minority communities. Such an approach promises to ameliorate the national shortage we currently observe and improve the effectiveness of professionals working in these critical areas.

Mr. Chairman, in summary, I am proposing that in the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, the Congress provide a major boost to scientific training for minority students over a five to ten-year span. My recommendations would affect junior and senior high school students, undergraduates, and master's level professionals. Such legislation, accompanied by funding authorization, would positively impact a generation of minority students as they worked with those from the majority community to continue the solid foundation that is so necessary for our future economic and security needs. Without science and technology, we will soon become a second-rate nation. Utilizing the talents of all of our citizenry would provide productive vehicles for our continued competitive edge.

As one who is known as a fiscal conservative, I do not believe that throwing enormous amounts of funding at a problem helps to solve it. Therefore, my proposals call for relatively modest sums of funding for relatively short periods of time. The idea is to attack a particular problem with adequate resources for only a specified period of time and then let the marketplace take over. More specifically, the proposals that I have presented can be funded with $100 million, or $10 million per year over the next ten years. This figure includes up to $2,500 stipends for 1,000 students per year, $2.5 million per year for three of the ten years to establish the Centers for Excellence in Science, $2,500,000 per year for the ten intensive scientific studies program sites per year, and a continuation of MISIP's current objectives of supporting long-range improvement of science and science programs at minority institutions.

In closing, I would like to quote what I think is an appropriate remark from the testimony of Dr. Keyworth, Science Advisor who appeared before the House Committee last February. He said: "Our leadership in science is fragile—extremely fragile. That should concern us deeply, because science plays the same role for technology as a foundation does for a house. Neither structure nor modern industries can exist without those bases of support. And today we depend—far more than most people realize—on our preeminence in science to enable us to exploit technology and maintain our economic and national security." We must utilize the talents and energies of all of our citizens. The times demand it, and the nation needs it.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my prepared remarks. I would be pleased to respond to questions from members of the committee.

Mr. **Ford**. Thank you very much. Mr. Hayes.

Mr. **Hayes**. I think the statement itself is very conclusive. There's one question that I have to ask for the dictates of my own conscience and some of the inquiries I get from, particularly, black students and black college administrators.

It's hard, it seems to me, when you discuss a program, that is, the assistance for minority students, to really distinguish how many black students are really being helped when you say minority. The same thing is true in business. There seems to be, according to the reports I get. You mentioned the year 2020 when almost 40 percent of the, I guess, eligible enrollees for institutions of higher learning will be minorities.

I don't know whether that number will be blacks, given the kind of situation that exists today; but this is one area which I think we ought to begin to at least, without the separatist approach, begin to put special emphasis; because it's generally considered that blacks are going to wind up way down on the totem pole when it comes to higher education, as compared to other people in the whole minority grouping.

I don't know what your reaction is to that, but this is part of the problem that I'm faced with almost daily.

Mr. **Harvey**. Well, Mr. Hayes, I think that you're absolutely correct, and we must continue to give some time and attention and resources to one of our Nation's greatest resources, and that's the historically black college and university.

Now in the MISIP program I mentioned, that does not have a legislative base, has been working rather assiduously for a long time in assisting minority institutions as it relates specifically to science. That's one of the reasons that I recommended that my own suggestions be incorporated under the umbrella with a sound legislative base of MISIP, because they have the people, the staff, that have made the contacts within the minority, that is the black higher educational community, to continue to assist in this regard.

They have the sensitvity in this regard as well. What I'm proposing is not inconsistent at all with your concern, because I think that it provides the wherewithall for people, both in Government and on the college campuses, to continue to look specifically at blacks, but not limit it to blacks but to make sure that minorities, and particularly blacks, can try and get involved in these scientific endeavors.

Mr. **Hayes**. It is—it seems to be a fact that some of our high schools are somewhat short when it comes to having the facilities or, to some extent, some of the instructors to prepare black students in the area of science and technology. We don't have in some of our high schools in Chicago, I think, particularly in the black areas.

Mr. **Harvey**. And what's happening, Mr. Hayes, is that that number is still declining. That's why we've got to try to get the youngsters as early as possible.

My recommendation is down to the middle school years, earlier than that if at all possible, but I'm cognizant of funding restraints and other kinds of things. But it's very, very important to get a youngster, whether or not black or white, turned on to scientific inquiry and intellectual process as early as possible. That, quite frankly, is diminishing, and we've got to be able to do something if we're going to continue to have any kind of presence.

What I'm calling for is an increase in role modeling and mentoring, because that's going to be the key. In order for me to want to be like you, I've got to see you. And if I can't see you down teaching science and you aren't good in mathematics and teaching mathematics, then I have no real reason to want to emulate you.

So I see that as one of the chief reasons that we need to put some time and attention into getting these role models and these mentors down there.

Mr. HAYES. If I may use my grandson as a barometer, he's more concerned about whether or not he succeeds in becoming a wide receiver than he is in whether or not he succeeds in science.

Mr. HARVEY. That's absolutely correct.

Mr. HAYES. This is part of the problem that we have.

Mr. HARVEY. It really is.

Mr. HAYES. Thank you very much.

Mr. FORD. If he succeeds in that kind of applied science, he'll be much more successful financially.

Mr. HAYES. Providing he doesn't break his neck or collar bone early.

Mr. FORD. Thank you very much, gentlemen, for your assistance to the committee, and for the effort you put into preparation for today.

The next panel is Hon. Peter Smith, Lieutenant Governor of the State of Vermont, and Dr. Jon Fuller, president of Great Lakes Colleges Association.

Governor Smith, our ranking Republican on this committee, Mr. Jeffords, is at the moment tied up at the Agriculture Committee where they're marking up legislation. You probably have read something about that in the papers the last couple of weeks. It's kind of center stage at the moment.

He had hoped to be here to introduce you, and wanted me on his behalf to extend the committee's welcome to you for your willingness to come and help us, and to add my words to his as commendation for your leadership and support for the FIPSE program. I trust Jim. When he tells me somebody has been doing a good job, indeed they have been doing it.

So we're pleased to have you. Your prepared statement will be inserted in full in the record. You may proceed to add to it, supplement it or comment on it in any way that you feel will be most illuminating to this record.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE PETER SMITH, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, STATE OF VERMONT

Governor SMITH. Thank you, Congressman Ford, and members of the committee.

I would only say that, as a country boy from Vermont, it's nice to be sitting in front of somebody whose reputation has preceded him in terms of being a friend to education. I am an educator by profession, and so have had occasion to read about people and hear about people, if not to always see them. It's a great thrill for me to be with you and with your subcommittee today.

I'm here to testify in support of the reauthorization for FIPSE, the Fund for Improvement of Postsecondary Education. As other testimony is going to describe in greater detail the Fund's independent, innovative, venture capital, in my term, approach to improving higher education has earned high praise throughout its short existence from the field and from previous Secretaries of Education, as well as the Congress.

FIPSE has followed both the letter and the spirit of its legislation. It has been, as a result, I believe, extraordinarily successful, both as a structural and as a substantive force for change in postsecondary education. But today, FIPSE is under serious attack directly from within the Office of the Secretary of Education. The program as it was designed, as we know it, as it has operated for years, will be dramatically changed if no action is taken by you, by this committee.

So I ask you to move beyond, if you can and will, the issue of reauthorization for the Fund to the pressing and immediate concerns of program independence, program management and program integrity. In short, please ask what you are authorizing for.

There are two ways that the Fund can fail in its statutory mandate. One is a lack of will to support the kinds of innovation happening in the field to broadly improve postsecondary education. The second would be a loss of the intended and legislated independence and field responsiveness which has been the hallmark of this program from its inception.

Specifically, in FIPSE's chartering memorandum the first item addressed was funding strategy, and they discussed it in terms of a foundation concept. the understanding was that the essence of this concept—and I'm quoting—"* * * is independence and responsiveness to externally initiated proposals."

The second item in that memorandum was the development of priorities. Emphasis was to be on broad priorities and external initiatives—and I'm quoting—"* * * giving maximum encouragement to creative thinking rather than fitting proposals to guidelines."

Through it all, the version and the vision of the original sponsors of this legislation intended, ran the theme that change, if it is to be effective, must be driven locally by local needs, situations, people and opportunities. This program in statute, concept, design and management is intended to be field responsive.

No Commissioner or Assistant Secretary or Secretary of Education has ever unilaterally set the Fund's priorities until August 1985, Secretary Bennett did just that, or his office. Let me give you some history.

Earlier this summer the Secretary's office proposed a reorganization plan for the Department which would have moved FIPSE from the Office of Postsecondary Education, lowered its bureaucratic reporting level, and linked it to research operations and the Secretary's discretionary fund.

FIPSE was not consulted. The American Council on Education protested the move. Leaders of both the House and the Senate authorizing committees were concerned that the move would jeopardize the program's independence.

Excuse me. I have to ask you a question of protocol. Is it considered poor protocol to mention the other body or members of the other body here? I heard an earlier colloquy back and forth.

Mr. **Ford**. You can say anything you want about them. Under the rules, we have to be nice even when we don't want to.

Governor **Smith**. OK. It's like beauty then. It's in the eyes of the beholder.

Mr. **Ford**. You're a free American citizen. We have certain institutional impediments.

Governor **Smith**. Fine. Senator Stafford, senior Senator from the State of Vermont, is chairman of the Senate——

Mr. **Ford**. Say anything nice about him you want to. He's really good.

Governor **Smith**. Well, I have many nice things to say about him.

Mr. **Ford**. I wish we had more Staffords in his party over there.

Governor **Smith**. Thank you.—Senate Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities, intervened forcefully, threatening to block the confirmation of nominees unless he was assured that FIPSE would not be moved. FIPSE remains where it is—where it was.

On the 5th of August I met with the Secretary and several aides at his request, including Dr. Chester Finn, the new Assistant Secretary for the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, who developed the reorganization plan which was to include FIPSE under his organization.

The subject of FIPSE priorities arose, and Finn stated the Secretary should set the priorities. I was accompanied by Neal Houston, administrative assistant to Senator Stafford, who made clear the congressional intent and reminded the staff of that.

After that meeting the FIPSE staff began writing "An Overview of FIPSE Priorities," of which you shall have access to copies, in order to make sure there was no misunderstanding of established procedure in the Secretary's office. The paper was completed on August 15 and delivered to the Secretary's office.

On the 19th, the Secretary's office sent the enclosed statement of its priorities for FIPSE to the Acting Assistant Secretary for Postsecondary Education, Ronald Kimberling. As you can see, the new priorities diverge radically from those generated by the field. They are attached to the rear, to the last page of my testimony with the two sets of priorities offered side by side.

Specifically, they eliminate the access agenda for the fund for improvement of postsecondary education, which is one of, or you could say the statutory lead for the program, the notion that broadly we want to improve and increase access, one, entry to, and then success at our institutions of postsecondary education.

The economy agenda, which has been mentioned earlier today already in other titles, the notion of economic changes, and the needs for partnerships between postsecondary institutions, labor, business, and government.

The technology agenda, and the nonconventional learner's agenda. They're all eliminated.

The new priorities, to me, signify several things. One, a denial of legislative intent, as I think it reads and I understand it; and the management practice of FIPSE from the program's inception under administrations of both parties.

Second, unilateral acton taken by the Secretary's office. I would refer you to a letter written by late Representative Perkins of this committee, I believe, which questioned in 1981 the former Secretary of Education, Terrell Bell, as to rules and regulations which were being promulgated in which the reference to the Director of the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education was omitted and the word "Secretary" was inserted in its place.

Representative Perkins wanted to know why and what it meant. In the Federal Register of April 9, 1982, the reply was: The comment was, why was he not mentioned when both statute and legislative history assigned the Director a pivotal role in establishing procedures. Response: No change has been made. The term "Secretary" is merely a stylistic designation used in all departmental regulations as a matter of reasonable uniformity. Its use is not intended to negate the effect of any statute.

Another entity affected is the Director of the National Institute of Education, and so on.

Third, a severe narrowing of program focus away from the intended flexibility and breadth.

These new priorities will stop the current grant program effectively dead in its tracks, funding to over 50 percent of the current projects—I think the percentage could be significantly higher—will simply be stopped.

In my State of Vermont, had these guidelines been in force in the past, there would be no community college system. There would be no statewide baccalaureate program, external degree program for adults; and there would be no assessment of prior learning portfolio program. Thousands of adults—thousands of adults in a State of one-half million people total would be without the opportunities which they currently are using annually.

Unless you act now, with language in this authorizing bill which protects the integrity and the independence of this program, I think it will most certainly die a death of a thousand bureaucratic cuts. When you lose FIPSE, you lose what Terrell Bell, the previous Secretary of Education, called the most successful program in the Department. You lose a program renowned for its ability to foster constructive change with a success rate of over 85 percent in its grant continuation after Federal funding is stopped; and you lose a successful experiment in Federal governmental structure.

The essence of FIPSE is that it is dedicated to field responsiveness, to listening, and building from the bottom up, not telling and controlling from the top down. And it works.

Nonbureaucratic structure has been respected by every Secretary of Education since the inception of the Department. Secretary Bennett's takeover of the program priorities will turn FIPSE into just another pot of money in Washington run by bureaucrats to fund their own agenda. That's not, as I understand it, the direction of our administration, nor is it in line with the history or the intent of the fund for the improvement of postsecondary education, its legislation, or the authorizing memos that go with it.

The fund is unique. It leverages significant change for very small amounts of money. Total appropriation in the last year, I believe, was $12.5 million. To continue its unparalleled track record, FIPSE needs your support and protection. The staff must be free to write program guidelines in response to the field, review proposals, make grants, and monitor progress as they have in the past.

As chairman of the National Board for FIPSE I speak for the board when I ask you to protect this proven success.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Ford. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Peter Smith follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. PETER SMITH, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, STATE OF VERMONT

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee: It is a pleasure for me to be here today to testify in support of reauthorization for the Fund for Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE). As other testimony will describe in greater detail the Fund's "independent, innovative, venture capital" approach to improving higher education has earned high praise from the field and previous Secretaries of Education as well as the Congress. In following both the letter and the spirit of its legislation, FIPSE has been extraordinarily successful both as a structural and as a substantive force for change in postsecondary education. But today, FIPSE is under serious attack from within the Office of the Secretary of Education. The program as it was designed, as we know it, as it has operated for years, will be dramatically changed if no action is taken by you.

I urge you to move beyond the issue of reauthorization for the Fund to the pressing and immediate concerns of program independence, management, and integrity: In short, please ask what you are authorizing for. There are two ways the Fund can fail in its statutory mandate:

1. A lack of will to support the kinds of innovation happening in the field to broadly improve postsecondary education; and/or
2. A loss of the intended independence and field responsiveness which has been the hallmark of this program from its inception.

Specifically, in its chartering memorandum, the first item addressed was funding strategy and the approved mechanism was a foundation concept, understanding that, "the essence of this concept is independence and responsiveness to externally initiated proposals."

The second item was the development of priorities. Emphasis was to be on broad priorities and external initiative, "giving maximum encouragement to creative thinking rather than fitting proposals to guidelines.

Through it all, as the version of the original sponsors of the legislation intended, ran the theme that changed, to be effective, must be driven by local needs, situations, and opportunities. This program in statute, concept, design, and management was intended to be comprehensive and field-responsive.

No Commissioner, Assistant secretary, or secretary of Education has ever unilaterally set the Fund's priorities, until August, 1985, when Secretary Bennett did just that. Let me give you some history.

Earlier this summer the Secretary's Office proposed a reorganization plan which would have moved FIPSE from the OPE, lowered FIPSE's bureaucratic reporting level, and linked it to research operations and the Secretary's discretionary fund. FIPSE was not consulted. The American Council on Education protested the move. Leaders of both the House and Senate authorizing committees were concerned that the move would jeopardize FIPSE's independence. Senator Stafford, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Education Arts and Humanities intervened forcefully, threatening to block the confirmation of nominees unless assured that FIPSE would not be moved. FIPSE remains where it was.

On August 5, I met with Secretary Bennett and his aides, at his request. Among those present was Chester Finn, the new Assistant Secretary for Office of Educational Research and Improvement, who had developed the reorganization plan which was to include FIPSE under his organization. The subject of FIPSE priorities arose, and Finn stated that the Secretary should set the priorities. I was accompanied by Neal Houston, congressional staff, who made clear the Senator's keen interest in FIPSE's continued independence.

After that meeting the FIPSE staff began writing "An overview of FIPSE Priorities" in order to make sure that there would be no misunderstanding of established FIPSE procedure in the Secretary's Office. This paper was completed on August 15 and delivered to the Secretary's Office the following morning.

On August 19 the Secretary's Office sent the enclosed statement of its priorities for FIPSE to the Acting Assistant Secretary for Postsecondary Education, Ron Kimberling. As you can see, the new priorities diverge radically from those generated by the field. (see attached).

They eliminated the access agenda, the economy agenda, the technology agenda, and the non-conventional learners agenda. These new priorities signify several things:

1. A denial of legislative intent and management practice from the program's inception;
2. Unilateral action taken by the Secretary's Office;
3. A severe narrowing of program focus away from the intended flexibility and breadth.

These new priorities will stop the current grant program dead in its tracks, funding to over 50 percent of the current projects.

In my state of Vermont, had these guidelines been force, there would be no community college system, no baccalaureate program for adults on a state wide basis, and no Assessment of Prior Learning Portfolio Program. Thousand of Vermont adults would be without the opportunities which they currently are using.

Unless you act now, with language in this authorizing bill which protects the integrity and the independence of this program, it will die a death of 1000 bureaucratic cuts. When you lose FIPSE, you lose what Terrell Bell, previous Secretary of Education, called the most successful program in the department. You lose a program renowned for its ability to foster constructive change with a success rate of over 85 percent in its grant continuation program. And you lose a successful experiment in federal government structure. FIPSE is dedicated to field responsiveness, to listening and building from the bottom up, not telling and controlling from the top down. And it works very well.

This non-bureaucratic structure has been respected by every Secretary of Education since the inception of the Department. Secretary Bennett's takeover of the program priorities will turn FIPSE into just another pot of money in Washington run by bureaucrats to fund their own agenda. That is not, as I understand it, the direction which this administration intends nor is it in line with either the history or the intent of FIPSE.

The Fund is unique. It leverages significant change for very small amounts of money. To continue its unparalleled tract record. FIPSE needs your support and protection. The staff must be free to write program guidelines, review proposals, make grants, and monitor progress as they have in the past. I speak for the Board when I ask you to protect this proven success.

FIPSE's 1984-85 Priorities

Program Priorities: The following program priorities apply to the Comprehensive Program for Fiscal Year 1986.

(1) Learning important and difficult subjects and skills, including math, science, writing, foreign languages, reasoning, analysis and problem-solving.

(2) Ensuring access to postsecondary education by improving course and program completion rates and by increasing and improving the articulation between high school and between two- and four-year colleges.

(3) Providing education for a changing economy by providing educational programs and services for workers, unemployed individuals, businesses, and communities.

(4) Understanding educational uses and implications of the new technologies, such as computers, television, and other electronic media.

(5) Improving graduate and professional education by increasing access to postsecondary educational institutions at the graduate level and by reforming post-baccalaureate programs.

(6) Enhancing teacher education and cooperation with the schools by developing teacher education programs, teacher in-service programs and cooperative programs between high school and colleges.

(7) Strengthening organizational capacities to improving learning by enhancing institutional leadership and management, the abilities of faculty and other staff, and resources for incentives for improvement.

Under the Comprehensive Program competition, projects that do not address one of these priorities are also eligible for support if they address other significant problems in postsecondary education.

1986 Priorities Proposed by the Secretary's office

(1) Renewal of the undergraduate curriculum based on a clearly articulated vision of the knowledge and skills an educated person should possess, and on the intellectual heritage of Western civilization.

(2) Recognizing and rewarding outstanding undergraduate teaching through improved policies and procedures on hiring, promotion, and tenure.

(3) Revitalization and reform of teacher education through efforts to:

- expeditiously qualify for school-teaching able persons who have previously earned degrees in fields other than education and who are present lack pedagogical training;
- strengthen the content, knowledge and expertise of current and prospective teachers in the subjects that they teach.
- attract into and retain in the teaching profession persons of commitment and intellectual strength; and
- ensure that persons preparing to teach have a solid grounding in basic disciplines of the liberal arts.

(4) Designing approaches to preparing candidates for the Ph.D. degree that stress development of effective undergraduate teaching skills.

(5) Raising the standards and expectations of academic performance for the bachelor's degree.

(6) Strengthening the liberal arts education of students enrolled in undergraduate professional programs and graduate professional students.

(7) Developing better means of appraising educational quality, assessing student learning and fostering excellence in postsecondary institutions of all kinds.

(8) The design and introduction of cost-effective methods of instruction and operation.

(9) Strengthening organizational capacities to improve learning by enhancing institutional leadership and management, the abilities of faculty and other staff, and resources for incentives for improvement.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Fuller.

Dr. FULLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. If my formal statement can be entered into the record, I'll simply comment on it.

Mr. FORD. It will, immediately following your comments.

Dr. FULLER. Thank you, sir.

STATEMENT OF JON W. FULLER, PRESIDENT, GREAT LAKES COLLEGES ASSOCIATION

You will note that I am speaking in support of reauthorization for the fund and in behalf of the American Council on Education and a list of other higher education associations that join in that testimony that are on the cover page of that statement.

I think the length of that list illustrates the breadth of influence which the fund has had and the depth of support which it has in the higher education community. It's really a remarkable success story in higher education, which is probably more impressive when one considers its quite small size and modest funding; but as three of Governor Smith's predecessors noted in a letter earlier this year about appropriations for the fund, the fund is like "Mighty Mouse," a miniscule item in the Federal budget but a powerful force for improvement in postsecondary education.

In some of the formal evaluations of the fund's work, they have found that an astonishing 88 percent of the grants which the fund has made have continued and usually grown following the end of Federal funding. I know that you are aware that an unusual kind of sustaining which the fund has shown. Indeed, it's unusual, because it has not only had its influence through the grants it's made, but it's become an influence because it's such an important and reliable source of information about new ideas and new things that work in higher education.

I have personally had the pleasure of watching the fund from its beginning. I was serving in the education division when the education amendments of 1972 were passed. I watched its initial development, and I have followed it since. In the past dozen years, when I have been with the Great Lakes Colleges Association, we've twice received funding support from the fund for improvement of postsecondary education; and I can note that our experience is really typical of most others. The initial grant that we had 10 years ago represents a program that's still flourishing and continuing and helping students and teachers in our colleges.

I've also been able to observe many of the other grants which the fund has made and benefited in my own work from the ideas that have been developed. In my personal judgment, there really isn't any place where my Federal tax money goes that makes me happier and where I feel there's a better payoff.

The fund has had an impressive history. I think the reason that it continues to have such strong support is that it's not trapped by that history in any way. It continues in its current grants to be right on the cutting edge of improvement in postsecondary education, just as its legislative mandate calls on it to be.

When you look at the theme, one of the things the fund has done is to urge grantees who were working on similar problems to communicate and to cooperate, so that you get not just the sum of individual projects but a broader influence from the ways in which they work together and learn from each other and extend their influence.

One of the important areas of current fund activity which, as Governor Smith notes, would be abandoned under the Secretary's proposed priorities, is in the area of that interaction between postsecondary education and the changing economic and social realities which we face, problems of workers needing new kinds of skills and new training. That kind of activity requires partnerships that link businesses, educational institutions, labor organizations, local government, community organizations, groups that really aren't used to working together. It's typical that the fund has been an early leader in providing support and innovative opportunities to work on the problems which were discussed this morning, particularly by Mr. Bruce and Chancellor Crawford.

Another area of importance in the fund's activities has been recently in the uses of technology in education, so that we improve learning for students. At an earlier stage, that was a rather trendy thing. There were lots of ideas around, most of them trying to strain the available technology to try to use it, because it seemed important to use computers. We didn't get very much effect. It was at the periphery. But the technology has changed rapidly, as we all know, and we are now at a place where computers and related technology can make an important contribution to the teaching and learning of many students. It's at the center of higher education now, and typically it's at this point that the fund is putting significant support into that area of educational improvement. It seems to have a knack for being where the action is and where the opportunities are, and to be developing that.

Yet another area you see of emphasis in the current grants of the fund is in teacher education. I know that this committee, certainly all of us in higher education, in the whole field of education, are concerned about the state of teacher training, about the teaching and learning in our elementary or in secondary schools.

Again that involves, if we're going to improve it, getting colleges and universities to work with State governments more effectively, to work with local school districts, to work with teacher organizations, and that's what the fund has been helping to see happen and has been supporting a number of important projects.

In this area, it's interesting to note that it has been in cooperation with a number of the major foundations, that you get not just the Federal dollars at work but some of those foundation dollars, and coordinate it so that we're all on the same track and we're all getting the same improvement that we need.

We see the fund following as we now want to take closer look at the current state of undergraduate education, and supporting those efforts, and indeed supporting efforts generally to develop better ways for us to assess the results of education at all levels.

The fund is—some of the earlier projects of the fund are now really at center stage and examples in the assessment of education.

The fund hasn't been trapped, in other words, like many agencies get into its history. It's been continued to be relevant, and influential, and carrying out its mission faithfully. I think there are some reasons why it's been able to do that, something that many agencies aren't able to do, and it has to do with the fund's organization and its operating style.

First of all, it saw its broad mission which the Congress gave it, to improve postsecondary education, would require a comprehensive approach. It required that you not simply say, "Well, here's a problem, we'll work on that;" because postsecondary education is indeed much broader than most any of our experience and ideas involves. The fund has been able to respond to that whole range of ideas.

When we are asked to make a proposal to the fund, it's an exercise to say what are the problems you see and what are the solutions that you think will work? Then those are judged on the basis of their significance and their likelihood of success.

It's not a guessing game about what some Federal bureaucrat is thinking and will want to hear. Again, that differs from a good deal of the rest of funding in education in Washington.

The fund has been responsive to the field. It recognizes that the identification of problems and the identification of solutions and certainly the working out of those solutions doesn't happen here. Washington has a role to play, but most of the action has to be in the colleges, and universities, and the schools, and the communities across America. The fund has been successful by its strategy in supporting that and, therefore, achieving the good results which have distinguished its history.

Despite its small size, the fund has as broad a pool of potential applicants as any agency in Washington, and that means it receives really an astonishing number of proposals. They've been exceeding 2,000 proposals a year coming into the fund. I noticed last week in the Chronicle of Higher Education there was an article about success rates for funding from Government agencies in Washington. I noted that the National Science Foundation, the Department of Education's International Programs—the success rate is about 36 percent. At NIH, it's about 33 percent. For the fund for improvement of postsecondary education, it's only 3 percent. That certainly demonstrates that the fund could productively use a larger budget than it's had. But I think it's interesting that that high percentage of proposals which are unsuccessful has not made the fund the most unpopular place in town, even though it says no to 97 percent of the people who come and ask for help.

That's because its review process for proposals is seen as fair. It's sensible. You don't have to write a long proposal to set out your idea initially and get it evaluated. And it's well known that the fund uses a broad range of people in education across the country. When they're reviewing proposals, they don't have to have—they don't rely on those people who can get themselves to Washington to look at things. They take those pieces of paper out across the country, get educators together in local areas to look at the proposals. So that you get informed judgment by the people who are close to what's happening, close to the problems, close to the potential solutions.

I think one of the other reasons the fund has been successful has been the national board that Lieutenant Governor Smith now heads, which has had a distinguished history of leadership. Twice, as you know, it's leadership has been drawn from former Members of the Congress.

That national board has been very important in directing the fund toward the new and important areas which education needs to respond to, and in holding the agency to the high standards which have come to characterize it.

I would certainly share uneasiness about some of the recent developments in the Department. I think it represents a misunderstanding of what the fund is intended to do, and of why it's been successful. I certainly would encourage this committee to do whatever you can in your authorization process and in your general oversight functions to help to educate those in the Department of Education who are missing a point here and missing an advantage, and to see that we are able to continue to have the benefits of this very important agency.

Therefore, I certainly strongly urge you to reauthorize the fund, which has been so highly successful. I think all of us in the postsecondary world across the board continue to believe that its services are greatly needed, and that, as it has operated and promises to continue to operate in the future, it can continue to make some crucial contributions to helping education to respond to the society and its changing needs.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Jon W. Fuller follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. JON W. FULLER, PRESIDENT, GREAT LAKES COLLEGES ASSOCIATION ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY AND JUNIOR COLLEGES, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF STATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, ASSOCIATED COLLEGES OF THE MIDWEST, ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, ASSOCIATION OF JESUIT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, ASSOCIATION OF URBAN UNIVERSITIES, COUNCIL OF INDEPENDENT COLLEGES, COUNCIL FOR INTERINSTITUTIONAL LEADERSHIP, GREAT LAKES COLLEGES ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY BUSINESS OFFICERS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES OF THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH AND THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES

Mr. Chairman: I am Jon Fuller, President of the Great Lakes Colleges Association. I am pleased to appear today before the Subcommittee to speak in support of reauthorization for the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education. I am speaking today in behalf of the American Council of Education, and of a substantial list of higher education associations which join in this testimony. That list reflects the breadth of influence of the Fund's work over the past 13 years, and the depth of support which it has across the higher education community.

The Fund represents a remarkable success story in Federal aid to higher education. Its importance and the broad results of its work so far are quite surprising in view of its quite small size and modest funding. It is, as the three former chairmen of its National Board put in a letter regarding this year's appropriations, "like Mighty Mouse—a miniscule item in the Federal budget but a powerful force for improvement in postsecondary education." Formal outside evaluations of the Fund's work have revealed that an astonishing 88% of projects initiated with Fund grants continue and usually grow, following the end of Federal funding. The Fund has successfully extended its influence even beyond the specific projects which it has supported and the grant dollars which it has awarded. It has become a reliable and productive source of information and new ideas for all of us in higher education.

I have personally had the pleasure of observing the work of the Fund from its very beginnings. When the Education Amendments of 1972 were passed, I was serving in the Education Division of the Department of H.E.W. I watched the creation of the Fund then, and have followed closely its subsequent development. The Great Lakes Colleges Association, with which I have worked for the last dozen years, has twice received grant support from the Fund. And I might note that our experience is indeed typical of others, for the grant which we received initially almost ten years ago initiated a program which is still continuing and flourishing for us. I have also observed the results of grants made by the Fund to several of our member colleges for important projects. We have also submitted our share of unsuccessful proposals. And in other years, I have been part of the proposal review process.

My personal judgment, from all of those experiences and opportunities to observe the Fund in action, is that no Federal program delivers greater value for a dollar spent. I am certainly happy, as a taxpayer, about that particular small part of my tax dollars at work.

Enthusiasm for the Fund is not simply an artifact of its brief but impressive history. The Fund continues to be a vital and impressively effective force, dealing now largely with a new set of issues—but still on the "cutting edge" of improvement in higher education. I think it would be appropriate, since the past achievements of the Funds that are quite well known, to review some of the major issues which are being addressed in the most recent grants. Part of the Fund's operating style has involved the identification of common themes in the work of grantees, and the encouragement of communication and cooperation among them. The sum of their efforts often exceeds the work done in the individual projects. As it has learned from successful experience, the staff of the Fund have become more deliberate and directive in encouraging these linkages among similar grant projects. Several of those now form "clusters" or "alliances."

One of the most interesting involves postsecondary responses to the changes which are taking place in our economy. The Education and Economy Alliance now links 22 separate projects, all of which are responding in some way to problems which result from changing economic (or demographic) realities including retraining for both current and dislocated workers. Education's responses to those changes require that there be new participants, served by new partnerships, using new patterns of education. The population served by these grants is usually adults; that in itself is a new direction for many postsecondary institutions. These projects often involve a partnership or collaboration which links businesses, educational institutions, labor organizations, local governments, and community organizations. The projects in this alliance offer a set of new and innovative approaches to delivery of educational services to adults: this means changes in timing, location, and methods of instruction. Education certainly has important contributions to make as our society adjusts to rapid economic and social changes. The Fund has been in the lead in developing the patterns and methods which are needed for an effective response.

Another major area of recent Fund support and activity has been the uses of new technology in education. There is now a Fund-initiated Technology Study Group, which links more than 50 separate projects, primarily in computer-related education. The involvement of the Fund in issues of educational technology illustrates its impressive record of finding the right time to support new ideas. We are now at a point where there is very important payoff in the applications of technology to education—in improved teaching and learning, as well as more powerful research and more efficient administration. If one looks back a decade ago, there were a number of technology proposals to the Fund, but relatively few of those were supported. At that point, we were still trying to stretch the technology, usually promising more than could be delivered. Most of those computer applications to education still worked at the periphery of education. Just in the last decade, there have been advances in the available technology which have moved far faster than it has been possible for education to change and to take advantage of them. As we do find ways to take advantage of this quite new technology, the results are very impressive. This has been the right time to focus on the applications of computers to education particularly for improved learning, and predictably, the Fund has been centrally involved.

Another area of Fund activity centers around issues in teacher education. All of us in education, including members of this committee, have been greatly concerned with the state of teaching in our elementary and secondary schools. The conditions of the teaching profession no longer attract many of our best students. The process of teacher training has not kept pace with new needs. There is a proper concern about appropriate standards of competence and performance for teachers. Again, in these issues of teacher education, we find the Fund playing an important and creative role. They have supported a number of individually significant projects in the improvement of teacher education. Perhaps more importantly, they have again, in partnership with some of the major foundations, contributed usefully to the dialogue which must take place among various participants in teacher education, if we are to make the progress which is required.

In both educational technology and teacher education, there is new energy and interest. This is reflected in more than 700 proposals on each topic received by the Fund last year. It is typical that proposals for innovation in new areas of interest should come to the Fund—and that the Fund should be shaping its own priorities and emphasis in response to what is actually happening in the field.

We are now at a time of looking closely, once again, at undergraduate education. Some of the issues here are still being defined. We are looking at questions of content, coherence, and resulting competencies. Again, the Fund is playing a useful role in the support of some important individual projects, and in the development of the larger debate which needs to take place. There is now a related concern about the appropriate assessment of education and of educators. In this case, we find that the Fund was involved early in that issue—a decade ago—and projects and products which had Fund support now have become important tools and models for the uses of assessment in education. New projects are also being supported in this area by the Fund.

The Fund, then, has continued to be at the cutting edge of improvement in postsecondary education. It has not been trapped, like some agencies, into a once-relevant agenda which doesn't change and comes no longer to represent important and central issues.

Let me suggest what I think are some of the important reasons for the Fund's capacity to continue a central role in the improvement of postsecondary education and to continue to be so influential and effective in its expenditure of Federal dollars.

The Fund had the good fortune to begin with an appropriate understanding of what was required to perform its broad mission to assist "the improvement of postsecondary education." Those who organized the Fund recognized that improvement comes from locally identified problems, needs, and opportunities. No one in Washington can or should try to predict or determine the issues or the priorities. From the first, the Fund has been responsive to the field. Our instructions in writing an application for support from the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education are to identify the problems as we see them and the solutions which we think might work; it is not an exercise in trying to guess what the decision makers in the agency really want to hear.

The Fund has also been appropriately comprehensive: in the kinds of projects it would consider, in the kinds of grantees it would support, in the kinds of problems to which it has tried to respond. The Fund's authorizing legislation, with its wide-open statement of eligibility and broad program mission, requires a comprehensive approach. Remarkably, the Fund has not been narrowed, altered, or deflected from its original and usefully broad mandate.

That combination of comprehensiveness in its mandate, faithfully carried out, and responsiveness to the needs and aspirations of those engaged in the front lines of education, has been central to the successful record which this agency has developed. Despite its small size, no Federal agency has a broader pool of potential eligible applicants, or a broader range of subjects eligible for support.

Congress, in its substantial wisdom, gave this agency a broad mandate, charging it with improving postsecondary education. That flexible mandate should be renewed. The current authorization levels seem appropriate. Unfortunately, appropriation levels have never approached authorization levels, and we realize that they are unlikely to press those limits in the years ahead. That is certainly not to say that the Fund could not productively use a budget two or three times its present size. It certainly could, and I hope that it won't be too long before we can find ways to make that possible. But that is, I understand, not an authorization issue.

Given its funding levels, the Fund receives an astonishing number of proposals, year after year. For several years now, the number has exceeded 2,000. That has meant that the final success rate of those proposals is also astonishingly low, as low as any I know of in any Federal agency or national foundation. Ninety-seven percent of all the proposals submitted to the Fund are unsuccessful. One might have expected that to cause a good deal of dissatisfaction and bitterness. It hasn't, because there is a high regard in higher education for the Fund's open and fair review processes. It is a process which encourages innovation, making it easy to try out your idea with the five-page preliminary proposal. Those preliminary proposals are reviewed by a broad set of readers, working in review sites around the country, so that one is not limited simply to those who can come to Washington to contribute their ideas. The major funding criteria have been judgments of the significance and of the feasibility of the ideas proposed.

Once projects have been funded, the staff of the Fund have worked diligently to connect them with each other where that was appropriate, and to see that they became resources for others in education interested in the same problem. Many of us in higher education benefit from the work of the Fund even when we are not receiving a check from that agency.

The Fund has operated from the beginning with an outside Advisory Board. That group has also been important in the successful record of this agency. It has had distinguished leadership—drawn twice in recent years from former members of the House of Representatives. That Board has been active in helping the staff of the Fund to identify important new issues and directions, and in holding the agency to continued high standards in performance.

Because it is such an exciting and significant place to be, the Fund has been successful in attracting a staff of unusual quality. Former members of that staff go on to various roles of creative leadership in higher education. Present members continue to be a broad resource for all of us.

As an outside observer of the Fund, I can express some concern about recent restrictions, as a result of internal departmental policies, of the capacity of the staff to monitor projects, to promote the sharing of information, and to help in cooperative linkages. Certainly, any saving in administrative costs or travel dollars has represented a much higher lost opportunity cost for higher education. I hope that the department will support continued flexibility in the operations of this agency. The technical assistance and dissemination functions are vital for a discretionary grant program mandated to promote innovation.

The Fund has also been impressive in its capacity to share its work with other Federal agencies and with education foundations. Some of the bureaucratic tendencies to build and protect individual empires have been avoided, significant efficiencies have been realized, and the mandated improvements in postsecondary education have resulted.

Some recent proposals about reorganization of the Department of Education have seemed to suggest some misunderstanding about the role and mission of the Fund. I hope that this Committee can be forceful in making its own record during the course of these reauthorization hearings, to remind leaders of the department, who are perhaps unfamiliar with the traditions and past achievements of the Fund, that its mission is not "research" about higher education, but the *improvement* of higher education.

This is an agency with a small staff and a small budget. Bureaucratic logic wants to lump it together with some larger set of activities. But it seems important, if the successful record of the Fund is to be continued, if the needs for improvement is postsecondary education—which are as great as ever—are to be met, that this agency sustain its independence, and its clear link to other higher education activities in the Department. In the exercise of its oversight function, we hope that your committee will be active in ensuring the Fund's continued independence.

I strongly urge you to reauthorize the highly successful Fund as part of the Higher Education Act. It is an agency which is greatly needed, and it will continue to make important and significant contributions in the improvement of postsecondary education.

Mr. **Ford**. Thank you very much.

Governor Smith, I find very striking the two pages attached at the end of your statement, the 1984-85 recommendation of the FIPSE board for program priorities; and then the Secretary's newly imposed set of priorities for 1986. He's got our attention. I read in the Chronicle of Higher Education recently that I'd have to read in the newspapers what he wanted done with reauthorization; but I'm reading in your statement one of the things I want to do in reauthorization.

If you look at the opening shot, I could tell you who wrote this without even having you identify it for me. "First priority: Renewal of the undergraduate curriculum based on a clearly articulated vision of the knowledge and skills an educated person should possess, and on the intellectual heritage of Western civilization."

That is clearly the most elitist definition of how one would approach evaluating higher education that you can put in two short sentences, or in actually one compound sentence, and it sounds very familiar. In the short time that the Secretary has been around, he's used this terminology.

It appears to me, and I suspect to Jim Jeffords as well, that he's decided that here is a lever to apply his philosophical view of what the goals of higher education ought to be in this country, without regard to the fact that all of the evolutionary process of postsecondary education, including the change of the name of this committee.

It was not by accident that in the seventies we changed the name from what had been known as the Higher Education Committee to the Postsecondary Education Committee, because we wanted to disabuse those ivory tower thinkers of the idea that the only kind of education that came beyond the traditional high school age fit some very narrow definition of what they then called higher education.

There was a little disappointment on the part of some members of the committee. In those days, it seemed that it was much more important to be a member of the Higher Education Committee than the Postsecondary Education Committee. It was just this kind of expressions coming from people in the education community that said to the Congress, look, these people don't understand that this country is changing in our needs and the mission of the Federal Government in education is evolving—not changing but evolving—in a much different direction than these traditionalists would have you go.

There's nothing wrong with tradition unless one attempts to impose their tradition in a democratic system on everybody else, having decided that their view of what is good tradition is superior to any other alternative.

You get down here to number six. I'm sure there are a lot of traditional 4-year college people who wouldn't disagree with it, that we should be strengthening the liberal arts education of students enrolled in undergraduate professional programs and graduate professional students.

I don't know how many times I've heard academic traditionalists decry the fact that we lawyers do not have an adequate undergraduate preparation in the liberal arts, meaning matters of academic interest that they would not readily identify with preparation for taking the bar exam; and that doctors, scientists and others suffer from the same lack. I suppose there's room to accept in part that criticism, but for the Federal Government, either directly or indirectly, to be telling people that one of the handful of true ways in which you can improve the quality of education in this country is the strengthening of liberal arts education of students enrolled in professional undergraduate and graduate professional programs really seems to me 'way outside of the ambit of what anybody wanted any czar or secretary or anybody else to be able to say to American educators.

That's a matter for each college campus to determine for itself, and it's not even a matter that can be determined collectively for the public institutions in any given State. If you were to try to impose this set of guidelines on the State institutions in my State, the meeting that would immediately and spontaneously be convened at some central point in the state would last for weeks, while they wrote a manifesto denunciation.

What this suggests to me is that members of this committee, Mr. Jeffords and I, in particular, are going to be very much interested, and, unfortunately, becoming overly particular in the description of the mission of FIPSE. It's unfortunate in the sense that from the very beginning in 1965 when we passed the Higher Education Act, it has been a bipartisan view that we should bend over backwards to keep from legislatively straightjacketing imaginative administrators; and basically, with both Democratic and Republican administrations, including this administration, Under Secretary Bell, we've seen professionals that have responded to that by attempting to make the programs effective.

We've had arguments about what makes them more effective, but the objective was always to make the program work, to have it accomplish its purpose, not to redesign it for an entirely different purpose. This frightens me. I harken back to reading the recommendations of the Heritage Foundation in their Manifesto for a Conservative Government, published in 1981. Most of the people who wrote that are now in the Department, I'm told.

It was really sort of a frightening visit to 1984 to realize that their view of the way to improve education was to take Federal money away from it and give Federal wisdom to people on what and how they ought to go about education, and their absolute certitude that they know what an educated person is.

I would hate to have anybody try to write a test to decide which of the 435 Members of the House and the 100 Members of the Senate are "educated" and which are not. I don't think anybody would accept the idea that the number of doctoral degrees held by many of us is any indication at all. I think some of the most effective people I've seen around here finished their education someplace before or shortly after the eighth grade.

That's the way this country was supposed to operate. It was not supposed to operate for those who are fortunate enough to have access to that limited number of traditional colleges that can indeed spend a good deal of time talking about the intellectual heritage of Western civilization.

That's pretty hard to make relevant for one of my blue collar kids in one of my institutions, other than something that ought to be discussed rather briefly in an attempt that you were going to get someone interested in doing some reading they might not otherwise do and in doing some discussing they might not otherwise participate in. But as an educational goal, what would we do with all these people who were equal to the Secretary in his understanding of the heritage of Western civilization.

I have no doubt at all that he could define that term for me very precisely. He knows exactly what it is. I have some college degrees and a few honorary degrees behind me at my age, and I would have a devil of a time trying to explain to somebody exactly what is it that would meet a regulation coming out of the Department and convince the person reading your grant application that you were meeting this kind of a requirement.

I think that, while, Mr. Fuller, you haven't put it as forcefully as Governor Smith has, it's very clear that a shot, as they like to say, has been fired across our bow. Fortunately, they did it on August 5 and didn't wait until after we had just reauthorized the way it had been.

This is not the first one. We are working overtime trying to write what we shouldn't have to write in the way of needs analysis, because we've been told in front of the committee, leave me write it and I'll show you how to get rid of all those kids that shouldn't be getting loans in the first place.

I'm afraid we're going to end up with a statute here that is going to be far more particular than any of us over the years would like to see in the form of reauthorization because of what's being dictated by the administration. I want to tell both of you that the committee clearly appreciates very much the fact that you've highlighted this change in direction and the danger of that change in direction.

Once again, it's a program that, in the whole scheme of things around here, is not very much money. So a lot of people who have to worry about billions of dollars say, well, it's not important enough to worry about. Fortunately, we have people like the two of you who do worry about it and can put on this record a very good description of the success of the program.

I particularly like Governor Smith's description of the fact that FIPSE is operated on the principle of taking local ideas and letting them percolate up and out, rather than having ideas imposed by somebody that you try then to filter down in some fashion and have them mean anything.

No one in this society responds well to imposed conclusions, and certainly not academics or people pursuing an education. So we will pay more attention—certainly, I will—than I would have been paying. I thought that, frankly, this was one of the little sections that we would just reauthorize without any change, and nobody would ever raise a question.

I'm once again indebted to the Secretary for firing the shot to warn us. In fact, maybe, I'm not sympathetic enough of the fact that he did want to alert us, that this could happen, and wake us up in time to keep it from happening.

Mr. Hayes.

Mr. Hayes. Mr. Chairman, I'm conscious of the fact that we have yet another panel to go. I want to continue just briefly in the vein in which you're going.

Both the Governor and the doctor have been very clear in their support of the retention of title X, involving the Fund FIPSE. I'm a little bit bothered, Lieutenant Governor Smith. You say in your statement:

> FIPSE is dedicated to field responsiveness, to listening and building from the bottom up, not telling and controlling from the top down. And it works very well. This non-bureaucratic structure has been respected by every Secretary of education since the inception of the Department. Secretary Bennett's takeover of the program priorities will turn FIPSE into just another pot of money in Washington run by bureaucrats to fund their own agenda.

Now this is the part where I get a little bit thrown:

> That is not, as I understand it, the direction this administration intends nor is it in line with either the history or the intent of FIPSE.

What makes you believe that it's not going in the direction that the administration intends it to go? You're being very kind, I think.

Governor SMITH. Well, if you saw my title in print after it, it would say Rermont.

Mr. HAYES. Enough said.

Governor SMITH. I have to say this is not the place for a debate about party philosophy, but I believe strongly, as I'm sure members of the other party do at the local and state levels, that our well spring is at home, and I consider that to still be an operating philosophy of this administration, if not perhaps of the Secretary in this particular case. That's a deep swamp, and we could swim in it for a long time.

I would simply say that I think my colleague was more generous than I, and I would return one more time to say I don't think they misunderstand FIPSE at all. I think they disagree with it.

Mr. HAYES. That's what I think. I don't think it's a philosophy.

Governor SMITH. I simply—I do not see, if we understand the subtlety and the preciousness of the things which make this program operate and have nurtured it over the years, I don't see it surviving literally for long, unless it is protected explicitly. I am delighted to hear the concern which this committee has about legislating too specifically, because I think that's a proper concern. But nonetheless, I think you need to know the situation as I believe it exists, and you may get some disagreement about that from other people. Maybe you should get them over here to tell you their own side of the story.

Mr. HAYES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It's more than philosophy, though. I think it's a direction which they're very conscious of.

Mr. FORD. We're trying to find now in the explanation of the budget that came up this year which zeroed out FIPSE.

Governor SMITH. I can remember it for you, if you——

Mr. FORD. What was it?

Governor SMITH. Unparalleled success, so successful that we do not need it anymore. Literally. I had the pleasure of testifying on that earlier.

Mr. FORD. I remembered that it was thrown on the scrap heap, but I didn't remember the reason.

Governor SMITH. Too successful.

Mr. FORD. I suppose that's consistent with the clearly articulated vision of the heritage of Western civilization. If it's too successful, quit doing it.

It's even more interesting, Mr. Smith. "The Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education * * *", this is in the words of the budget submission from the President,

> . . . which supports grants designed to stimulate improvement in higher education has been a proven success with over eighty-five percent of grantees continuing their projects after Federal grants end. However, improvements in delivery of higher education are primarily the responsibility of the institutions themselves, and are in their own interest.

That seems to be somewhat in conflict with the Secretary's new initiative, in suggesting that someone else ought to be able to tell those institutions the types of projects that ought to be developed.

It goes on to explain why co-op education should also be eliminated, and that while the federal government got it started, and while it works in a lot of places; they don't need it anymore. Let them go ahead and handle it themselves.

I can sympathize from the point of view of somebody over in the Office of Management and Budget looking for some targets—to total up a lot of items, if not dollars. I don't think that what you have said is in any way inconsistent with what the administration has said.

At this point the budget justification is the only formal position we have from the administration on reauthorization. I understand on September the 19th they are going to bring over, finally, a proposal for how we deal with title III, only that title. I'm looking forward to seeing what that is. I know other members of the committee are, too. But at this moment, that's the only indication of any specific recommendation that we can expect for them, although I've read in the newspaper, as directed by the Secretary, that there is in preparation a reauthorization bill that will be coming sometime to us.

So absent receipt of anything like that, we have to constantly go back to see what they said they wanted to do in the budget, and that's why I was attracted back because I remember FIPSE was one of the programs that was going to be eliminated. I couldn't remember that there had been anything bad said about it.

I'm sure that it will be continued, because I know that no bill is going to pass through a conference with the Senate because of Senator Stafford's long time interest in this program that either eliminates it or harms it.

Thank you very much, both of you.

Governor **Smith**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Ford**. On title XI, Dr. Robert Corrigan, chancellor of the University of Massachusetts; Dr. David Ames, dean, College of Urban Affairs and Public Policy, University of Delaware.

Gentlemen, it's a pleasure to see you here again, and I want to indicate that your prepared statements that you've submitted will be included in the record in full.

Dr. Corrigan, please.

STATEMENT OF DR. ROBERT A. CORRIGAN, CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AT BOSTON

Mr. **Corrigan**. Mr. Chairman, thank you, and members of the subcommittee. I am, as you've stated, Robert Corrigan, chancellor of the University of Massachusetts at Boston; and I'm pleased to be here on behalf of the Association of Urban Universities to urge your subcommittee and the Congress as a whole to reenact with minor technical amendments title XI of the Higher Education Act, know, of course, as the Urban Grant University Program.

Accompanying me today is Mr. Jim Harrison, president of the Association of Urban Universities. We will both be available to respond to your questions about the legislative proposals that AUU and other higher education associations submitted to you at the beginning of the hearing process.

I am happy to be able to say that the American Council on Education, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, the Association of American Universities, the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities, and the National Association of College and University Business Officers have advised us that they concur with the legislative substance of my testimony.

I note also the supportive presence of David Ames and Evan Brown, testifying for the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges.

May I also say parenthetically how pleased I am to have been able to listen to Congressman Bruce whose proposed bill appears highly compatible with the aims of title XI.

In my written testimony I provide a brief overview of title XI which I don't think you need rehearsed here, and a summary report of the typical urban university; and I do regret not being able to talk more about my institution, the University of Massachusetts, Boston. But I would call your attention to the activities of our John W. McCormack Institute for Public Policy first developed with the strong support of your colleague, Chester Atkins on this committee, and handsomely supported by the Congress, and the work proposed for our Urban Harbors Institute.

Like, of course, every other responsible urban university, we have worked closely with the public schools in a variety of projects. But I want to talk about, briefly, some technical analysis of the legislation in question.

The higher education community in April did submit three sets of proposals for the amendments to title XI, and they all appear in part III of the May Committee Print on Legislative Recommendations for Reauthorization. I hope that I do no injustice to any of these proposals, Mr. Chairman, nor to the interest of any part of the urban university community when I say there is virtually no difference amongst the three presentations.

All of us, I feel confident, could live comfortably with the adoption, as is, of any of the three of them. For that matter, the urban university movement and the growing linkage between town and gown would not be seriously impaired if title XI were to be reenacted without a single change except in its expiration date.

The higher education community does recommend amending the Statement of Purpose and Findings, the preamble of title XI, by adding the thought that local agencies of government have expressed a need and a wish to make use of the services of urban universities. I can tell you from firsthand experience that they surely have, and it would clarify the purpose of the act, though it wouldn't change it in any way to say so. In this provision there, of course, occurs one of the two textual differences among the three proposals to which I have referred before.

The Association of Urban Universities and Task Force drafts only mention urban universities. The AACJC draft adds six words: "* * * and urban community colleges working cooperatively." No one, I believe, in the urban university movement could object to a syllable of that addition. We endorse then the slightly amplified language of AACJC for section 1101(a).

All three versions concur in recommending "such sums" authorizations in lieu of the authorizations that present law sets down more explicitly. We think the title should be reauthorized as a statement by the Congress of its approval of the university-city linkages that have already grown up under title XI's encouragement. We hope, needless to say, that someday the Congress will see fit to invest a small amount of money in the title for demonstration projects, but we would be happy with whatever authorization language budget requirements seem to urge upon you.

All three drafts include language that clarifies the 1980 language of section 1103(a)(2), and make explicit what we always felt was implicit in the act, that the Secretary should encourage consortia, and that they should include universities, community colleges, and other public, nonprofit and indeed profit entities within the community. The AACJC and Task Force drafts include the phrase (and I quote): "* * * and other institutions of higher education." Again, we raise no objection to the addition of these six words.

There are two other proposals common to the three drafts for addition to title XI. One is to underscore our belief in peer review as a means of making awards when title XI grant money becomes available. Peer review is a practice uniformly supported within the higher education community, and it should certainly be the basis for title XI awards.

Title XI is not and, we believe, should not become a formula grant program; and aside from seeking a degree of fairness and diversity amongst awardees, the act does not and the amendments would not restrict the Secretary's discretion in making grants.

Mr. Chairman, our message is, I believe, a simple one. Title XI, even without funding, has encouraged universities and community colleges to work with their local governments in seeking ways to cope with problems of high local priority. It is our experience in Boston and that of our colleagues elsewhere that the cooperative spirit fostered by the enactment of title XI has extended in the past few years beyond the sphere of local government in the struct sense to other community groups, including the business and industrial sectors of the urban areas.

We in the urban university movement believe that the skills and the talents and the dedication to be found on our campuses can be of major value in restoring the vitality of our cities, helping new communities grow, and finding new answers to questions both old and new. But there is more to the urban university movement than that.

A major portion of what is new and innovative and forward-looking within American higher education is to be found with the urban university community. Our own organization, the Association of Urban Universities, comprises only a small fraction of the total urban community, though I hope we'll be permitted to say that we include the leadership fraction.

Yet in the very few years that AUU has been on the scene, our member universities, public and private together, have been able to develop new approaches to issues which used to divide the community absolutely along the traditional public-private gap.

There are differences between the public and private sectors of higher education, Mr. Chairman, and you and your colleagues have to wrestle virtually every day with those differences. No one could be more aware of these distinctions than I am, as the chancellor of the only public university in the city of Boston surrounded by dozens of prestigious private universities and colleges. But when it comes to urban issues, even when it comed to student financial aid issues of a sort which involve the nontraditional students who are, of course, the large part of our urban student clientele, I find it easier every year to cooperate with the understanding and progressive Presidents of my private, urban neighbors.

I work today closely with Kenneth Ryder, president of Northeastern University, and with Daniel Perlman, president of Suffolk University, both board members, by the way, of the Association of Urban Universities; and we are planning together an AUU meeting in October in Boston, where we will examine in detail the economics of urban life. We want to sit down together with local officials to work on the problems of this great city that we all love, and we can stand together in testifying before the Congress on issues involving the independent and the part-time students we all serve.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, title XI has been a very helpful sign of congressional recognition of that phenomenon, and we respectfully ask that that support be renewed in the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Robert A. Corrigan follows:]

Prepared Statement of Dr. Robert A. Corrigan, Chancellor, University of Massachusetts at Boston on Behalf of the Association of Urban Universities

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education. I am Robert A. Corrigan, Chancellor of the University of Massachusetts at Boston. I am most pleased to be here appearing on behalf of the Association of Urban Universities to urge the Subcommittee, and the Congress as a whole to re-enact, with minor technical amendments, Title XI of the Higher Education Act, known as the Urban Grant University Program.

Accompanying me today is Mr. Jim Harrison, President of the Association of Urban Universities. We will both be available to respond to your questions about the legislative proposals AUU and other higher education associations submitted to you at the beginning of this hearing process.

I am happy to be able to say that the American Council on Education, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, the Association of American Universities, and the National Association of College and University Business Officers have advised us that they concur with the legislative substance of this testimony.

I would like to begin, Mr. Chairman, with a brief overview of Title XI. Then I will follow with a summary report of how a typical urban university—my own—functions in its working relationship with Boston—a typical American city with a character all its own.

Title XI, first proposed to the Congress, Mr. Chairman by you and your Republican colleague, Mr. John Buchanan of Alabama, and by Senators Eagleton and Lugar in the Senate, became law in October, 1980, as part of the last general reauthorization of the Higher Education Act.

Stated simply, the Title recognizes that an urban university is an institution both "in" and "of" the city, and the Title authorizes the Secretary of Education to award small grants, on a competitive, non-formula basis, to urban universities which would develop, in conjunction with the cities in which they are rooted, projects designed to meet the needs of that specific city. These projects might take the form of applied research, services, planning and technical training.

Title XI has not yet been funded, and no grant has ever been made. Yet the urban universities remain very much alive, and in fact gain strength and take on new responsibilities almost daily; and these universities along with their city partners continue to develop joint undertakings designed to make the cities better places in which to live, and, from the universities' point of view, better places in which to learn and to teach.

Indeed, the public recognition of the urban university mission that Congressional approval of Title XI fostered has stimulated interest in universities like my own. This has led, as one of the paradoxes of notoriety, to increased demand for our services and mounting pressure on our limited resources. I do not, I think, want to lead the members of the Committee further into the implications of this condition.

I am most familiar, of course, with one such university—the University of Massachusetts at Boston, and with its growing linkages with one urban center, and I would like to describe that cooperative relationship as an illustration of what Title XI could encourage and promote throughout the nation.

The University of Massachusetts at Boston itself is little more than 20 years old, but it is part of a system that, for 120 years, has actively practiced the kinds of service embodied in the land-grant tradition. We know and understand that tradition well and I deeply appreciate the enormous impact the Land-Grant Act has had on rural America. The Committee is to be congratulated for its vision in seeing the importance and taking the first steps toward translating that tradition into the urban context.

You should know that UMass/Boston is very much the prototype of the modern urban university:

The median family income of our students who are financially dependent on their parents is $17,000. Approximately 40% of these families make *less* than $15,000. For those students who have left the home, the median income is under $4,000.

18% of our total student population is minority, as is 22% of this years' entering class.

54% are women.

Our median student age is 28, and 36% of newly enrolled students are over 25.

80% of our students work twenty or more hours a week.

97% are natives of Massachusetts and 72% are from the inner city or the inner suburbs.

Working as best we can with the resources currently available to the University, we have established many programs within the urban communities and placed ever-increasing emphasis on basic and applied research which addresses the problems of an urban environment.

Some of these activities include:

Operation of an Adult Literacy Resource Institute, in cooperation with Roxbury Community College, which provides technical assistance and staff support to 18 neighborhood agencies that deliver basic education services to inner city illiterate adults.

An Occupational Literacy project in the South Boston and Mission Hill neighborhoods, which combines basic education and job training for 75 unemployed and illiterate adults.

Technical assistance and teacher training in our neighboring Boston public school, the McCormack School, where reading and writing scores have shown measurable improvement.

Consultation to several public housing projects leading to creation or improvement in recreation for adolescents, day care, services to elderly.

Staff assistance to several government agencies, such as the Boston City Administration, and the State Departments of Social Services and Public Welfare.

Training for day care teachers and day care managers.

Providing mediation services to help mediate disputes between public housing tenants and housing managers.

A study of fish and shellfish in Boston Harbor to determine the degree of hazard to public health and safety resulting from pollutants in the Harbor.

The John E. McCormack Institute of Public Affairs, which, as a living memorial to one of the great figures of this House, stresses applied research into local, state and regional policy issues.

A Gerontology Institute devoted to study of the problems of our aging population and to training of service providers for the elderly.

A recently strengthened Black Studies Department that makes grants available for study and analysis of issues affecting the black community.

Convening of a panel of experts to study and advise on changes in Medicaid regulations and services.

The College of Public and Community Service, one of the three major academic divisions of the University, devoted completely to developing and training urban service professionals.

Let me describe in more detail two areas of public service to which the University has been very strongly committed.

It has been apparent for years that Boston Harbor, although scenically spectacular, is seriously polluted. UMass/Boston is located on a peninsula in the Harbor. Because we are aware of both the beauty and pollution of the Harbor and have a direct interest in its effective management, we have recently instituted a major Ph.D. program in the Environmental Sciences. This program's primary research thrust is into the chemistry, biology and even the politics of urban harbors and coastlines with Boston Harbor as the primary case study. We have also developed a proposal to create a research institute affiliated with the Environmental Sciences Program which would be the first "oceanographic" institute to concentrate its research specifically on the urban harbor and developed coastlines.

In addition, UMass/Boston helped create and provide institutional support for a special State commission which was charged with studying and recommending solutions to the problems of Boston Harbor's pollution. Through these efforts, the University is committed to serving the environmental needs of the City and the Commonwealth.

A second example is the area of primary and secondary public education. Since the mid-1960's (and exacerbated by the desegregation crisis of the 1970's) the Boston Public Schools suffered a perceptible decline in the quality and volume of educational services. Like other urban systems, standard test scores were going down, attrition rates were up, and the demand on scarce resources by meritorious but expensive special-education and bi-lingual education programs were increasing.

Through our Institute for Learning and Teaching, established in 1970, highly-skilled professionals have approached urban public school teachers, partners, pupils and administrators (in Boston and surrounding cities), worked with them to help understand their problems and assess their needs, sought external funding for and helped implement a broad range of in-service programs. Areas of particular emphasis are writing skills and the teaching of writing, computer education, and upgrading of the teaching of mathematics and science. We have also developed several direct intervention programs designed to locate and assist student populations who might otherwise go unheeded. In Boston, our efforts, along with those of other local universities, to support the school system's good work have born fruit in a turn around of test scores, attendance figures, and we hope in public confidence in the schools.

It is gratifying to see that men and women of good will can still, with hard work and commitment, make a difference. That, I submit, is what the Urban Grant idea is all about. And I suggest that adequate funds added to that good will and hard work could make an even greater difference.

Let me turn now to some technical analysis of the legislation in question.

The higher education community in April submitted three sets of proposals for amendments to Title XI, and they all appear in Part III of the May Committee Print on Legislative Recommendations for Reauthorization. On pp. 117 and 118 of that document there appear the proposals of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges and the Association of Community College Trustees. On pp. 125 and 126 appear the recommendations of the Association of Urban Universities. And somehow, the printers put the two pages of the recommendations of the ACE Task Force on Title XI on pp 124 and 127. The Task Force recommendations are attributed to ACE, the Association of American Universities, The National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, The American Association of State Colleges and Universities and The National Association of College and University Business Officers.

I hope I do no injustice to any of these proposals, Mr. Chairman, nor to the interests of any part of the urban university community when I say that there is a virtually negligible difference among the three presentations. All of us, I feel confident, could live comfortably with the adoption as is of any of the three of them. For that matter, the urban university movement, and the growing linkage between town and gown would not be seriously impaired if Title XI were re-enacted without a single change except in its expiration date.

As this Subcommittee was told two years ago by Father Edward Glynn, President of St. Peter's College in Jersey City, "Title XI isn't broke. Don't fix it."

Father Glynn also said, in the same context. "But it is *broke*. So do fund it." But appropriations are not a part of the immediate question before this Subcommittee, so I will confine myself to describing the thrust of the technical amendments on which the higher education community is agreed with respect to Title XI.

The community recommends amending the Statement of Purpose and Findings—the Preamble of Title XI by adding the thought that local agencies of government have indicated a need and a wish to utilize the services of urban universities. I can tell you from first-hand experience that they surely have, and it would clarify the purpose of the Act, though it wouldn't change it in any way, to say so. In this provision there occurs one of the two textual differences among the three proposals to which I referred to above. The AUU and Task Force drafts only mention urban universities, the AACJC draft adds six words—"and urban community colleges, working cooperatively." No one in the urban university movement could object to a syllable of that addition. We endorse, then, the slightly amplified language of AACJC for Sec. 1101(a).

All three versions concur in recommending "such sums" authorizations in lieu of the authorizations which present law sets down more explicitly. We think Title XI should be reauthorized as a statement by the Congress of its approval of the university-city linkages that have already grown up under Title XI's encouragement. We hope, needless to say, that some day the Congress will see fit to invest a small amount of money in the Title for demonstration projects. But we would be happy with whatever authorization numbers Budget requirements seemed to urge upon you.

All three drafts include language that clarifies the 1980 language of Sec. 1103(a)(2), and makes explicit what we always felt was implicit in the Act; that the Secretary should encourage consortia and that they should include universities, community colleges, and other public, nonprofit, and profit entities within the community. The AACJC and Task Force drafts include the phrase "and other institutions of higher education." Again, we raise no objection to those six words.

There are two other proposals, common to the three drafts, for additions to Title XI. One is to underscore our belief in peer review as a means of making awards when Title XI grant money becomes available. Peer review is a practice uniformly supported within the higher education community, and it should certainly be the basis for Title XI awards. Title XI is not, and we believe should not become, a formula grant program, and aside from seeking a degree of fairness and diversity among awardees, the Act does not and the amendments would not, restrict the Secretary's discretion in making grants.

I should mention at this point, Mr. Chairman, that your Committee Print shows a fourth proposal, offered by the American Association of University Professors, which would create a system of Endowment Grants useable for general purposes by all universities.

we have no specific views on this proposal, except with respect to its opening line, where it is proposed to repeal the existing Title XI and replace it with this wholly different program. Obviously, we oppose that particular technique of amendment, though I cannot speak for anyone else with regard to the substance of the AAUP proposal as a free-standing provision.

Mr. Chairman, our message is a simple one. Title XI, even without funding, has encouraged universities and community colleges to work with their local governments in seeking ways to cope with problems of high local priority. It is our experience in Boston and that of our colleagues elsewhere that the cooperative spirit fostered by the enactment of Title XI has extended in the past few years beyond the sphere of local government in the strict sense to other community groups, including the business and industrial sectors of the urban areas.

We in the urban university movement believe that the skills and the talents and the dedication to be found on our campuses can be of major value in serving our cities, and finding new answers to questions both old and new.

But there is more to the urban university movement than that. A major portion of what is new and innovative and forward-looking within American higher education is to be found within the urban university community. Our own organization, the Association of Urban Universities, comprises only a small fraction of the total urban university community, though I hope I may be permitted to say that it is a leadership fraction. Yet in the few years that AUU has been on the scene, our member universities, public and private together, have been able to develop new approaches to issues which used to divide the community absolutely along the traditional public-private gap.

There are differences between the public and private sectors of higher education, Mr. Chairman, and you and your colleagues have had to wrestle with those differences. No one can be more aware of those distinctions than I am as the Chancellor of the only public university in the City of Boston—surrounded by dozens of prestigious private universities and colleges. But when it comes to urban issues, even when it comes to student financial aid issues of a sort which involve the non-traditional students who are a large part of our urban university clientele, I find it easier every year to cooperate with the understanding and progressive Presidents of my private, urban neighbors.

I am working closely with Dr. Kenneth G. Ryder, President of Northeastern University and Dr. Daniel Perlman, President of Suffolk University, both Board members of AUU, in planning an AUU meeting for October, in Boston, which will examine in detail the economics of the quality of urban life. We want to sit down together with local officials to work on the problems of this great city we all love, and we can stand together in testifying before the Congress on issues involving the independent and part-time students we all serve.

Mr. Chairman, Title XI has been a very helpful sign of Congressional recognition of that phenomenon. We respectfully ask that it be renewed.

Mr. **Ford**. Thank you very much.

Dr. Ames.

STATEMENT OF DR. DAVID AMES, DEAN, COLLEGE OF URBAN AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC POLICY, UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE

Mr. **Ames**. Mr. Chairman, members of the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, I am David Ames, dean of the College of Urban Affairs and Public Policy at the University of Delaware; and I am testifying in behalf of the National Association of State Universities & Land-Grant Colleges, sometimes called NASULGC, in support of the reauthorization of title XI of the Higher Education Act, the Urban Grant University Program.

I am joined today by Mr. Nevin Brown, staff member for the NASULGC Division of Urban Affairs, which represents over 80 urban public universities and systems offices for most of the Nation's major metropolitan areas, including Detroit, Chicago, Kansas City, Los Angeles, and New York. I am pleased to have this opportunity to appear today before the subcommittee and to join my colleagues Bob Corrigan and Jim Harrison in urging your support of title XI.

I am also going to take advantage of your offer to abbreviate my remarks. I was going to comment on the continued need for the Urban Grant University Program. I was going to comment on some technical aspects of the program; and finally, I was going to look at what the urban grant university program could do if funded in a small but heavily urbanized State such as Delaware where 80 percent of the population lives in an urban setting. I think the examples are ones that perhaps would be applicable elsewhere.

I am going here simply to comment on my last—on the last two examples, to give you a sense of two ways in which the Act could be effective in promoting its goals.

The College of Urban Affairs and Public Policy at the University of Delaware is an outgrowth of early efforts in the 1960's to apply university resources to urban and community needs. We were one of the recipients of the initial round of Ford Foundation grants for that purpose in the 1960's. Indeed, we were organized to parallel the mission of our sister agricultural college to assist the University of Delaware in carrying out its land grant mandate in the cities and towns of Delaware.

Last year we responded to several hundred requests for assistance of one kind or another throughout the State, and carried out some 40 funded public service and applied research projects. These included survey research for a variety of clients, economic development assistance and planning, energy research, demographic analysis and historic preservation, to mention a few.

In my limited time, I would like to highlight two examples of how title XI could make an important difference in enhancing universities' capacities to respond to local needs. My first example focuses on reaching the smallest communities within an urban area with university resources. The second concerns a broader regional need. Both have applicability, I believe, to the variety of circumstances possible under title XI; 3 years ago, the Delaware State Legislature appropriated about $40,000 for the college for its urban agent program to bring university resources to bear on economic and community development problems facing urban neighborhoods and communities in the Wilmington metropolitan area. Our staff developed what we call a Community Assistance Program. Each year, the urban agent program of our college puts out a request for proposals to the local governments and communities in the Wilmington metropolitan area asking them what assistance we might be able to offer them. The communities submit proposals to us. These proposals are evaluated by staff and faculty and ranked in terms of the urgency of the problem, how well we can match our resources, not only in the college but elsewhere in the university, to the communities needs, as well as a few other criteria.

We then develop an assistance program for the most highly ranked communities. Neighborhoods and communities must also contribute financially to the project. The projects have ranged in subject matter from housing rehabilitation to evaluation of day care and in types of assistance from financial analysis to helping form community development corporations. For those communities we cannot help in a particular year, we try to find other sources of assistance. In some instances, we refer them to other sources, because the university may not be the appropriate one.

Title XI declares that skills, talents and knowledge of urban universities must be applied in a systematic and sustained manner to make a significant contribution toward the solution of these problems.

Our Community Assistance Program, it seems to me, is one of the approaches that enactment and funding of title XI could assist, not only in extending our program but elsewhere. It gives even the smallest community with the most limited resources access to the most senior and expert faculty, while at the same time giving students hands-on experience with real world problems. From our point of view, it makes the university accessiblein a different dimension to local urban communities and neighborhoods.

The second example, and I did write it before Congressman Bruce spoke this morning, is very much tied to the economic development, is a broader regional one focusing on economic development. Over the years we in the college and the university have assisted a number of local governments and nonprofit development corporations on specific projects aimed at rather immediate decision making needs: A labor market analysis for one jurisdiction; locational analysis for another; a waterfront study for yet a third; and so forth.

However, both we and local governments are increasingly seeing the need for data collection and analysis related to the longer term strategic planning needs of communities, and less to the day to day operations of economic development. These are issues that cut across individual communities and relate to the broader regional economy of northern Delaware. Topics include unemployment and sectoral shifts in the economy, transportation and infrastructure, for example.

We are now in the process of having discussions with local urban governments toward the end of forming an Economic Research Consortium between the university, local government, economic development corporations and major corporate citizens in northern Delaware. Each would contribute to the consortium.

Facilitating this kind of work would be ideally suited to the purposes of the Urban Grant and University Program. Not only would a variety of local governments and agencies be participating, but jointly with the university influencing the outcome of the work.

It is also a project which relates to what the university does best, long run research and analysis, to needs of the metropolitan area in a way that is mutually agreed upon.

Title XI is, to me, the much needed glue to put together a number of cooperative arrangements between urban universities and local government. For some such collaborations, the money is there or can be found; but for many of the most significant, title XI could be critical.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Dr. David Ames follows:]

Prepared Statement of Dr. David Ames, Dean, College of Urban Affairs and Public Policy, University of Delaware

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, I am David Ames, Dean of the College of Urban Affairs and Public Policy, University of Delaware, and I am testifying in behalf of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC) in support of the reauthorization of Title XI of the Higher Education Act, the Urban Grant University Program. I am joined today by Mr. Nevin Brown, staff member for the NASULGC Division of Urban Affairs, which represents over 80 urban public universities and system offices from most of the Nation's major metropolitan areas, including Detroit, Chicago, Kansas City, Los Angeles and New York. I am pleased to have this opportunity to appear today before the Subcommittee and to join my colleagues Bob Corrigan and Jim Harrison in urging your support of Title XI.

I would like to review with the members of the Subcommittee three aspects of Title XI:

the continued need for an Urban Grant University Program, which the Congress recognized in its authorization of Title XI in 1980 and which has increased during the past five years;

the support of NASULGC for the recommendations of the ACE Task Force on Title XI; and

a look at what the Urban Grant University Program could do, if funded, in a small but heavily-urbanized state such as Delaware, where 80 percent of the population lives in an urban setting.

CONTINUED NEED FOR THE PROGRAM

The findings stated by Congress in authorizing Title XI five years ago are no less true today. For example:

The Nation's urban universities are a major but underused reservoir of skills, talents and knowledge which can be applied to the understanding and amelioration of urban problems. Within the membership of NASULGC alone will be found such institutions as Wayne State University, the City University of New York, the University of Illinois at Chicago, the University of Missouri-Kansas City, and similar urban universities which are the sources of enormous educational, research, technical assistance, employment and community services and resources within their metropolitan areas. These universities have a unique role in their cities and are called upon to provide a widening array of services to urban governments and citizens.

The skills, talents and knowledge of these institutions must be applied systematically and in a sustained manner in order to make significant contributions to understanding and ameliorating urban problems. At the same time, the application of these skills is hindered by the limited funds to sustain their commitment. In 1985, as in 1980, meeting the needs of urban America requires the depth of understanding and commitment to long-term goals and objectives to which the research and other resources of urban universities can contribute deeply—whether it be a better understanding of urban race relations or the design of a more effective sewer system. And many of our urban universities have committed many of their own financial and manpower resources to that effort. I can cite as examples the commitment by Wayne State's President David Adamany of significant resources to the City-University Consortium, the Center for High Technology and to collaboration with the Detroit Public Schools, or my own president Art Trabant's commitment of university funds the College of Urban Affairs and Public Policy and its urban agent program. Yet, as you know, universities such as David Adamany's and my own have also faced increasing fiscal stringencies and limited university resources during the past five years, and the funding of a small, targeted program such as Title XI would be very helpful in our efforts to continue and expand our essential urban research and outreach.

The policy of the United States is to encourage and facilitate the application of urban university skills, talents and knowledge to meeting the needs of the Nation's urban areas. Although the past five years have seen a general reduction in the attention and concern of many executive agencies for urban policy and urban problems, I cannot see any reduction in the need for the attention of our national government to the needs of the Nation's cities and metropolitan areas. The vast majority of the Nation's citizens do and will continue to live their lives in urban areas, and our universities and other major institutions must continue to respond more effectively to their needs. The reauthorization of Title XI, the Urban Grant University Program, will be an important signal that the Congress continues its commitment to responding creatively to urban needs as it did a century earlier to the needs of an agrarian nation.

SPECIFIC AMENDMENTS

NASULGC has joined the ACE Task Force on Title XI by endorsing its recommendations for minor changes in the legislative language for the Urban Grant University Program. We believe that the additional paragraph suggested for the "Findings and Purpose" (Section 1101) will make clear what has always been implicit in the program—that local governments and other entities in urban communities need and desire the skills, talents and knowledge available in urban universities in reaching solutions to urban problems.

In addition, we strongly support amended language which would permit peer review of project proposals seeking Title XI funding. We believe that peer review has been a helpful means for assuring diversity and fairness in awards made in other university-oriented federal funding programs; we believe it would be helpful rather than a hindrance in assisting the Secretary of Education in making funding decisions; and we believe it would help to avert in Title XI a recent tendency by some universities (including, unfortunately, a few of our own) to bypass established federal funding and review mechanisms for special-interest legislation in behalf of a particular building or activity. We believe the potential inherent in Title XI to address the Nation's urban needs is too important to be diverted by such special interests.

We believe the other minor amendments to Title XI proposed by the ACE Task Force will be helpful in including potential collaborating entities not now specifically included by the title, as well as providing Congress with flexible language in appropriating funds for the program.

Let me reiterate, however, the sentiment which you will hear expressed by other witnesses during this hearing. My main interest, and that of NASULGC, is the reauthorization of Title XI, and we would not object to a simple re-enactment of the current language. I have been associated with urban universities for most of my career, and I have been increasingly impressed with the abilities, confidence and value of what the Nation's urban universities have been and will continue to be able to contribute to the citizens and public officials of the cities in which they are located. Reauthorization of Title XI will be a significant indication to the Nation that Congress continues its commitment to innovative and practical responses to the needs of urban America, and an important reinforcement to the efforts that my own and other urban universities are already making to address urban and metropolitan needs and opportunities.

THE POTENTIAL OF TITLE XI IN ONE STATE AND ONE UNIVERSITY

The College of Urban Affairs and Public Policy at the University of Delaware is an outgrowth of early efforts in the 1960s to apply university resources to urban and community needs. We were one of the recipients of the initial round of Ford Foundation grants for that purpose in the 1960s. Indeed, we were organized to parallel the mission of our sister agricultural college to assist the University of Delaware in carrying out its land grant mandate in the cities and towns of Delaware. Last year we responded to several hundred requests for assistance of one kind or another throughout the state and carried out some 40 funded public service and applied research projects. These included survey research for a variety of clients, economic development assistance and planning, energy research, demographic analysis and historic preservation, to mention a few.

In my limited time I would like to highlight two examples of how Title XI could make an important difference in enhancing universities' capacities to respond to local needs. My first example focuses on reaching the smallest communities within an urban area with university resources. The second concerns a broader regional need. Both have applicability, I believe, to the variety of circumstances possible under Title XI.

Three years ago, the Delaware state legislature appropriated about $40,000 for the College through its urban agent program, to bring university resources to bear on economic and community development problems facing urban neighborhoods and communities in the Wilmington metropolitan area. Our staff developed what we call a community assistance program. Each year, the urban agent program puts out a request for proposals to the local governments and communities in the Wilmington metropolitan area asking them what assistance we might be able to offer them. The communities submit proposals to us. These proposals are evaluated by staff and faculty and ranked in terms of the urgency of the problem, how well we can match our resources to the community's needs, as well as a few other criteria.

We then develop assistance programs for the most deserving communities. Neighborhoods and communities must also contribute financially to the project. The projects have ranged in subject matter from housing to day care and in types of assistance from financial analysis to helping form community development corporations. For those communities we cannot help in a given year, we try to find other sources of assistance.

Title XI declares that the skills, talents and knowledge of urban universities must be applied in a systematic and sustained manner to make a significant contribution toward the solution of these problems.

Our community assistance program, it seems to me, is one of the approaches that enactment and funding of Title XI could assist. It gives even the smallest community with limited resources access to the most senior and expert faculty while at the same time giving students hands-on experience with real world problems. From our point of view, it makes the university accessible in a different dimension to local urban neighborhoods and communities.

My second example is a broader regional one focusing on urban economic development. Over the years we have assisted a number of local governments and nonprofit development corporations on specific projects aimed at rather immediate decision-making needs: a labor market analysis for one jurisdiction; locational analysis for a second one; a waterfront study for a third; and so on. Both we and the local governments are increasingly seeing a need for data collection and analysis related to the longer-term strategic planning needs of the communities and less to the day-to-day operations of economic development. These are on issues that cut across individual communities and relate to the broader regional economy of northern Delaware. Topics include employment and sectoral shifts in the economy, transportation, and infrastructure.

We are in the process of having discussions with local urban governments toward the end of forming an economic research consortium between the university, local governments, economic development corporations and major corporate citizens in northern Delaware. Each would contribute to the consortium. Facilitating this kind of work would be ideally suited to the purposes of the Urban Grant University Program. Not only would a variety of local governments and agencies be participating but jointly, with the university, influencing the outcome of the work. It is also a project which relates what the university does best, long-run research and analysis, to needs of the metropolitan area in a way that is mutually agreed upon.

Title XI is to me the much-needed glue to put together a number of cooperative arrangements between urban universities and local government. For many such collaborations, the money is there or can be found; but for some of the most significant, Title XI could be critical.

Mr. FORD. Thank you very much. Dr. Corrigan, we want to thank you for bringing that scoundrel on your left with you today. It is my habit, when challenged by representatives in the higher education community who have the temerity to question the wisdom of any of the reauthorizations that I've presided over, to say, well, that wasn't done in mine; that's when Jim Harrison was running the show here.

It was an action-packed 4 years that he had directing the activities of this committee, a very productive 4 years, at a different time, I should say, Jim, in Washington for trying new ideas. He's never been without new ideas and new approaches, and we appreciate having him. I've appreciated, Dr. Corrigan, working with the association, from the inception of the Urban University Grant Program, with the help of John Buchanan of Birmingham, AL, who is no longer with us in Congress.

I learned a lot, as a matter of fact, during the hearings that Mr. Buchanan and I held in various parts of the country about what institutions in urban areas were doing and would like to do, and what their potential was. I also learned a lot about the similarities that I didn't know existed between a Birmingham, AL, and a Detroit, MI, through the eyes of the educators that we talked to in both of those urban centers. I saw a different Alabama than I had in mind, growing up in Michigan all of my life, and felt much better as a result of it.

I have a very strong feeling for the urban university and for the value that they have, and for the waste that has been a result, I think, of tradition and an unwillingness of traditionalists to break with some traditions and cast themselves in a role other than an academic purist.

I was interested, Dr. Corrigan, in your comment about how well you're getting along with the private schools. We held a hearing, as you know, in Massachusetts for reauthorization, which became the occasion for a considerable amount of criticism. I hope that you've got all those presidents up there convinced that you're not opening half a dozen new medical schools in the State.

Mr. CORRIGAN. We can convince all but one, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FORD. Pardon?

Mr. CORRIGAN. All but one.

Mr. FORD. Well, lots of luck. I did find, incidentally, at that hearing that President Silber eschewed any responsibility for the philosophical bent of the current Secretary. He was tougher in my conversation with him on that than he was on you, although he worked you over pretty good.

Mr. CORRIGAN. Yes, I bet he did.

Mr. FORD. Thank you very much. Where are you located?

Mr. AMES. Newark, DE. University of Delaware, and we have offices in Wilmington as well as in the State capital.

Mr. FORD. I notice that the urban projects you talked about here were in the Greater Wilmington area.

Mr. AMES. Well, we're in the Greater Wilmington area, actually, too. It's—the whole metropolitan area encompasses the northern part of the State.

Mr. FORD. Everything but the Delmarva Peninsula is in the Greater Wilmington?

Mr. AMES. Yes; there's a canal that runs across the two-thirds of the—lower two-thirds of the county which, beyond that, is lower Delaware, and above that is upper Delaware. It's known as a cultural line.

Mr. FORD. Thank you very much, gentlemen. We appreciate your support for—oh, pardon me. Mr. Hayes, did you want to ask anything?

Mr. HAYES. I don't have any questions, Mr. Chairman. Both are worthy and welcome additions to us struggling to reauthorize the Higher Education Act.

Mr. FORD. The committee will stand recessed for one-half hour.

[Whereupon, at 1 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 1:30 p.m., the same day.]

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